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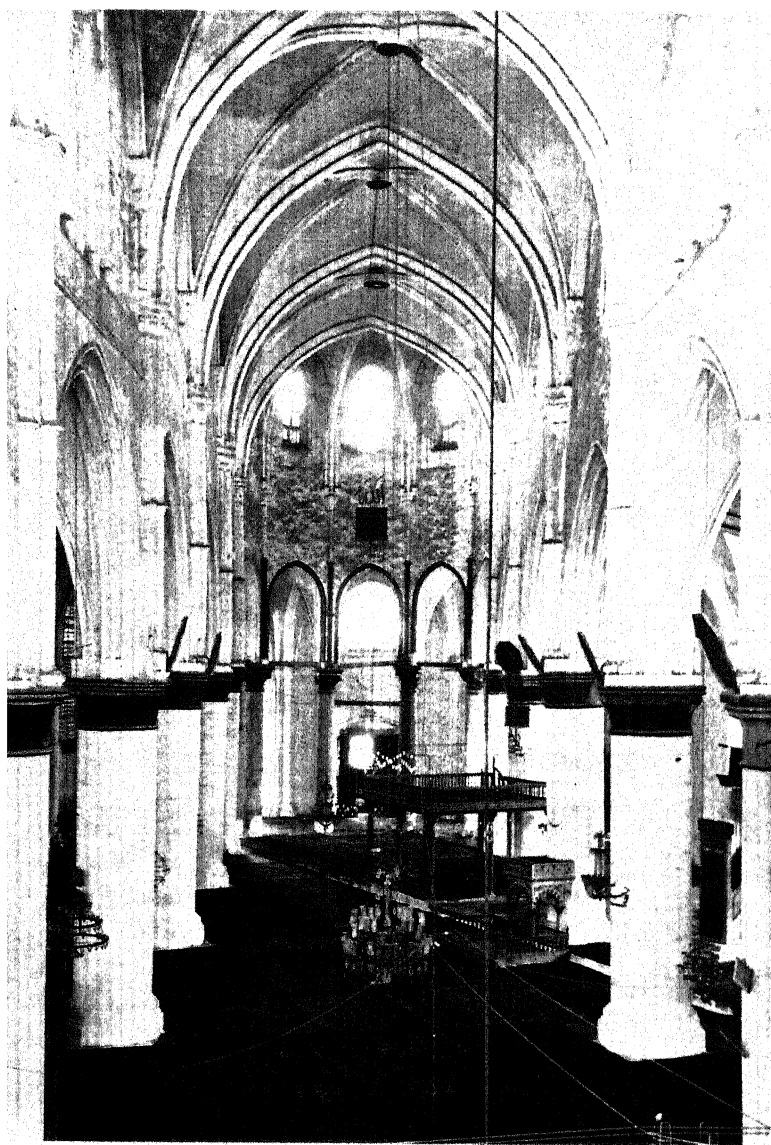
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NUMBER XXV

THE WARS OF FREDERICK II AGAINST THE IBELINS
IN SYRIA AND CYPRUS



THE CATHEDRAL OF SANTA SOPHIA AT NICOSIA

THE WARS OF FREDERICK II AGAINST THE IBELINS IN SYRIA AND CYPRUS

BY
PHILIP DE NOVARE

TRANSLATED, WITH NOTES AND INTRODUCTION, BY

JOHN L. LA MONTE
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF HISTORY
THE UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

WITH VERSE TRANSLATION OF THE POEMS BY

MERTON JEROME HUBERT
PROFESSOR OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES
THE UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI



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to whom can be applied so justly
the phrase of Philip de Novare:

“Cestu seignor . . . si fu vaillant et moult hardi et entreprenant
et large et cortois et de bel acuell a toute gent, et por ce il
estoit moult amé et moult renomé partout, et par my tout se
il estoit sage et conoissant et preudome et lëau enver Dieu.”

PREFACE

It was while I was working on my *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* that the desire to prepare a translation of the *Mémoires de Philippe de Novare* was engendered. For it was my observation that almost every point of feudal practice in that most perfect feudal state was well illustrated by incidents found in the narrative of Novare, and that seldom does one find a single text which affords so clear an insight into the life of such a state. It was with this in mind that I first sought and received the approval of Professor Dana C. Munro in my project to prepare an annotated translation of Philip's book. Throughout the early stages of the work I received the benefit of encouragement and advice from that great master of the history of the Crusades who was never too busy to share the problems of all who approached him and who threw open to all comers the vast resources of his erudition and long experience in that field. Professor Munro's sudden death robbed the world of a fine scholar and kindly gentleman and deprived this work of a guidance on which the author had counted much.

The History of the War between Frederick II and John d'Ibelin is not one of the world's great classics and can claim to be of no more than specialized interest as far as the events related therein are concerned. But it does depict most vividly the life and ideas of those medieval gentlemen who settled in the Latin Orient to make their fortunes in that thirteenth-century land of promise. It gives an excellent picture of colonial self-consciousness and local patriotism, of feudal relationships and loyalties. And as a contribution to the general subject of the career and imperialism of Frederick II, Philip's work is worthy of more general attention.

As the work presents but a single point of view — that of the anti-imperialist faction — an attempt has been made in the Introduction to this translation to sketch the general

history of Frederick's rule in the East and to indicate the relation of Philip's work to the other sources for this history. Western sources have been used to balance the picture given by Philip and more properly to evaluate the incidents and characters described by him. The appendices have been used to reproduce other accounts of the same incidents and other material omitted by Philip but germane to the subject matter. The rather formidable genealogical table is an attempt to include in one chart all the relationships of the house of Ibelin which are mentioned by Philip during the course of his narrative.

In preparing the translation of the text considerable leeway has been allowed on several occasions when Philip's own style became needlessly involved. The text followed is that established by Charles Kohler in his *Mémoires de Philippe de Novare*, published in "Les Classiques français du moyen âge," Paris, 1913, and is here translated with permission of the publishers, the Librairie Edouard Champion. The Roman numerals indicate Kohler's paragraphs, the Arabic numerals between parentheses are the paragraphs in the *Gestes*. Several arbitrary usages were adopted for the translation which may well be explained here; the term "sir" has been used to translate *messire* and *sire*, unless the sense demanded the term "lord"; in general "lord" has been used for *seigneur* or *monseigneur*; the untranslatable *preudhom* has been rendered "noble man" for want of a better equivalent, and *riches homes* have become "magnates" or "notables." Two practices require special notice. In proper names *de* represents a family name and *of* a territorial lordship — for example, John d'Ibelin of Beirut; all names for which easy English equivalents are common have been rendered into those equivalents; this explains what may seem an arbitrary use of the form Philip de Novare. Secondly, the term *Longobard* is carefully distinguished from *Lombard*. In the thirteenth century Longobards were the inhabitants of the old Byzantine theme of Longobardia in southern Italy; Lombards were then as now natives of northern Italy. This distinction is one which

has escaped most authors dealing with this subject — although Philip himself very carefully distinguishes in every case. Mas Latrie went so far as to explain at length the strange use of the term Lombards in reference to Apulians in the East by stating that, as there were so many Lombards in the troops of the emperor in Syria, to the oriental Latins all Italian subjects of the emperor were Lombards. Having previously fallen into this same pit myself, I have been most careful to preserve this distinction throughout this work.

In acknowledging assistance received in the preparation of this book, thanks must first be extended to my colleague, Dr. Merton Jerome Hubert, who, in addition to translating Philip's poems into English verse which exactly preserves the rhyme scheme and meter as well as the sense of the originals, has carefully checked the entire translation. Dr. Rodney Robinson, Director of Classical Studies at the American School at Rome, very kindly went over with me the translation of the account by Marsiglio Georgio, but must under no circumstances be blamed for its atrocious style. Professor Austin P. Evans, the general editor of the series, has been most kind in giving the manuscript his careful consideration and in offering suggestions which have greatly improved the work. My wife, Katherine R. La Monte, has assisted me at every turn: in preparing the translation, reading proof, compiling the index, and generally encouraging me throughout the preparation of the book. Thanks are also due the Charles Phelps Taft Memorial Fund of the University of Cincinnati for a grant in aid which assisted me to spend a summer in Paris completing the work on the introduction and notes and for a generous loan which facilitated the earlier publication of the work. The maps are published through the courtesy of the Librairie Edouard Champion and the Palestine Exploration Fund. The illustrations are from photographs taken by the author in Cyprus in 1929.

CINCINNATI, OHIO
JANUARY, 1936

JOHN L. LA MONTE

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

I. THE "HISTORY OF THE WAR," THE "GESTES DES CHIPROIS" AND THE "CHRONICLE OF AMADI"; ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TEXT OF THE "HISTORY"

There exists today, so far as we know, no manuscript of the original text of Philip de Novare's *History*. The text which has furnished the basis of this translation is a very carefully reconstructed one prepared by Charles Kohler from the two major sources in which Philip's work was incorporated: The *Gestes des Chiprois* and the *Chronicle of Amadi*. Kohler's work was scientifically done and the resultant text is undoubtedly as close to the original of Philip's work as we will ever come without discovering the manuscript itself.

The *Gestes des Chiprois*, the chief source for Philip's *History*, is an Old French chronicle, written in Cyprus in the fourteenth century, and existing only in a single manuscript dated from Cerines in 1343, the extant copy being one made by John le Miège, a prisoner of Amaury de Mimars, castellan of the castle of Cerines, which was used then as now as a government prison. This manuscript was discovered in 1882 by M. Carlo Perrin in Piedmont and is still in the private possession of his family. A copy was made under M. Perrin's supervision and sent to Count Paul Riant, the eminent French historian of the Latin Orient, who placed it in the Bibliothèque nationale, where it bears the number, Nouvelles acquisitions français 6680. From this copy Gaston Raynaud prepared the edition of the *Gestes* which he published under the auspices of the Société de l'Orient latin in 1887, the proof sheets of his edition being carefully corrected by M. Perrin from the manuscript in his possession. Later, a second edition was prepared, also from the Riant manuscript, by Count Louis de Mas Latrie for inclusion in the *Recueil des historiens des croisades*, published by the Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres. This edition appeared in 1906 in the second volume of the

Documents arméniens. As the Count de Mas Latrie died before the publication of this volume, the completion of his work was entrusted to Gaston Paris and later to Charles Kohler; the published text carried an introduction by Kohler. This edition suffers from overediting, as the text has been modified and words have been inserted in several places which, while clarifying the meaning, slightly alter the actual text; the spelling has also been standardized. Although constant reference has been made to this edition in the preparation of the present translation, the text of the *Gestes* — as apart from the text of Philip established by Kohler — has been followed from the Raynaud edition.

The *Gestes des Chiprois* is a history of the kingdom of Cyprus from the earliest times to the year 1309, compiled about 1325 by an unknown author who has been identified as Gérard de Montréal.¹ The work is divided into three books: *Chronique de Terre Sainte*, *Estoire de Philippe de Navarre*, and *Chronique du Templier du Tyr*, to use the names given them by Raynaud. The *Chronique de Terre Sainte* is a series of brief annals which traced the history of the world from the creation to the year 1218. The first folios of the manuscript are missing so that the annals actually begin at 1132, but paragraph 81 states that in the preceding paragraphs the history of the world has been given from Adam to Frederick II, which would indicate that the earlier portions were a briefly sketched world chronicle. From 1132 to 1218 the entries are short annals with occasionally a longer more detailed account of some event of local importance. Gaston Paris and Charles Kohler agree in thinking that paragraphs 82-91 were inserted into the *Chronique* from the lost autobiography of Philip de Novare. These paragraphs will be found in Appendix I of this volume.

The second book of the *Gestes* is essentially the *History of*

¹ The attribution to Gérard de Montréal is based in part on Florio Bustron's statement that he used as one of his sources "i *Gesti di Ciprioti* in francese, scritti da Filippo de Navara, huomo universale . . . Dopo di lui, Gerardo Monreal tenne memoria di molte cose accadute in suo tempo." (Bustron, p. 8.)

Philip de Novare; this formed the basis for Kohler's text. But into the text of Philip the compiler of the *Gestes* interpolated paragraphs from other sources, especially from the *Eracles* (the Old French translation and continuation of the *Historia* of William of Tyre) and the *Annales de Terre Sainte*.² Kohler, carefully comparing the *Gestes* with the *Eracles* and the *Annales*, weeded out all of the interpolations in reconstructing the original text of Philip.

The third book of the *Gestes*, the *Chronique du Templier du Tyr*, is a continuation of the history of Cyprus and Syria from 1243 to 1309. The last pages of the manuscript are lacking here too but it may be presumed that in its original form the work did not go beyond 1324, the year of the death of King Henry II, with which Florio Bustron, who used the *Gestes* as a source, ended the second part of his history. This is without doubt the best source for this period of history in the Latin East, and, while inferior to the work of Philip de Novare, it maintains a high standard of excellence, showing that the author was well informed and possessed of considerable historical judgment.

The other major work which is based largely on the *History* of Philip is the *Chronicle of Francesco Amadi*, a Venetian history of Cyprus from the time of the caliph Omar to the accession of King John II of Cyprus in 1432. Written before 1489, as proven by internal evidence, it was the property of the Venetian scholar and bibliophile Francesco Amadi, who may or may not have been its author, though it is generally attributed to him. For the years 1218 to 1243 this chronicle is a free translation into Venetian of Philip's *History*, with some abridgment and elaboration in various parts. Amadi, presuming that he did write the chronicle, evidently had before him either the original of Philip's *History* or a copy of the *Gestes* which did not include the interpolations from the

² Paragraph 102, a scurrilous invective against Frederick II, is obviously taken from some western source, for it refers to the death of Prince Henry: "as you have heard already." It should be noted that most of the interpolations in the *Gestes* are concerned with points not bearing on the imperial-Isbelin struggle and which were not dealt with by Philip de Novare.

Eracles. For in every case in which the *Gestes* has copied from the *Eracles* the Amadi has a different reading; while none of the poems found in the *Gestes* are found in Amadi, the Venetian chronicle has one couplet which is not included in the *Gestes*. Finally, there is in Amadi a concluding paragraph, which, I feel, can be nothing but the conclusion of Philip's *History*. This paragraph is not found in the *Gestes*, which goes on to tell of the later fortunes of the Filangers, and it is inserted in Amadi in the midst of the narrative. While Kohler did not feel sure enough that this was Philip's concluding paragraph to publish it as such and was content to place it in a note, I have taken the liberty of restoring it to the end of the *History*. Kohler used the Amadi to check the text of the *Gestes*, and on all occasions where the *Gestes* repeated verbatim the words of the *Eracles* Kohler followed the text of Amadi in constructing his hypothetical text of Philip. In this translation I have followed Kohler's text throughout, without noting these passages save when there was some additional information given in the suppressed passage which seemed pertinent and worthy of special notice. The entire paragraphs of the *Gestes* which Kohler threw out as being copied from the *Eracles* have been collected into the second appendix of this translation.

In addition to the *Gestes* and Amadi, several other works derived in part from Philip's *History* were used by Kohler. The *Chronique de Chypre* by Florio Bustron, an Italianized Cypriot of the sixteenth century, was based either directly on Philip or on the *Gestes*.³ Mario Sanuto's *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis*, written 1307-21, derives some information from Philip, but the material is so scanty and the treatment

³ Kohler maintained that Bustron had only Amadi as his source for this material but, as René de Mas Latrie pointed out in his edition of Amadi (p. iv), Bustron is the only historian to give the details of King Henry's reply to Ibelin's appeal for aid at Beirut, which would prove that he had access to materials not employed by any of the others. Certainly, he did more than abridge Amadi, and he may have possessed an original text of Philip de Novare. Bustron gives as his own sources Philip, Gérard de Montréal, the *Assises*, a book of noble families (probably the *Lignages d'Outremer*), and *Remembrance della secreta*.

so brief that it is of very little value, and is worthless in establishing the text.

Either through the *Gestes*, Amadi, Bustron, or Sanuto, the *History* of Philip de Novare has been followed by almost every writer who has dealt with the history of thirteenth-century Cyprus. Loredano, Juana, Reinhard, Mas Latrie, Löher, Müller, and Röhricht all base their works on one or another of these histories, Müller and Röhricht using all of them. Only Étienne de Lusignan, writing in the sixteenth century, seems not to have known Philip and apparently his work relied in the main on his family traditions and his personal knowledge. Among writers on Frederick II, Winkelmann and Kantorowicz make considerable use of the *Gestes*; Kington and Huillard-Bréholles relied on the *Eracles* and knew Philip only through Sanuto.

Philip's *History* may thus be considered the prime source for a most interesting and important period in the history of Cyprus and for a little known field of activity of Frederick II. It gives a knight's story of a war in which he participated; the war was not one which shook the foundations of the world but is a very typical feudal war and is of added interest in that Frederick was one of the characters involved. Most appropriately does this translation appear in the series of "Records of Civilization," for few works give a clearer picture of a distinct civilization than does Philip in his chronicle of life in the crusading states with its feudal loyalties, its legal punctiliousness, its shifting politics, and its ardent individualism. The Latin crusading states give us an opportunity to study a cross section of feudalism under the microscope; though small it is complete. Nowhere does one get a better picture of a purely feudal state than in Jerusalem; nowhere does one see Jerusalem better than in the *History* of Philip de Novare.

II. PHILIP DE NOVARE, THE MAN AND THE AUTHOR

To an Italian of the sixteenth century the highest type of Renaissance man was the "uomo universale" who combined in one person the attributes of scholar, warrior, politician,

orator, athlete, artist, and courtier. Lorenzo the Magnificent, Alberti, and Leonardo are the finest exemplars of this ideal man and were recognized as such in their own day as well as by posterity. All the lesser humanists acclaimed them and the civilization which produced them. And it was seldom that any honorable mention was accorded that earlier time and culture which had immediately preceded their own period of enlightenment, that earlier age which the humanists disdainfully termed "Gothic." Yet a sixteenth-century writer and self-styled humanist, Florio Bustron, an Italianized Cypriot who wrote a history of his native land, applied the flattering term "uomo universale" to Philip de Novare, who wrote in Cyprus in the thirteenth century. Undoubtedly there was an element of chauvinistic pride in a fellow Cypriot in this appellation as well as a bit of that exaggeration to which the Renaissance humanists were so prone, but the very fact that a scholar of the Renaissance would apply the term to a thirteenth-century writer is worthy of remark, and it is the more interesting in that Philip de Novare was the intransigent opponent of that truly universal man of the thirteenth century, the emperor Frederick II, "Stupor mundi."

Concerning Philip de Novare little is known save what he has told us of himself. For long he was known only as the author of one of the legal treatises which make up the *Assises de Jérusalem*, and only in the last half century has his position as an historian and poet been established through the discovery and publication of his *History* and his *Quatre Ages de l'homme*.

Philip was born towards the end of the twelfth century, probably about 1195, in the town of Novara in Lombardy.¹ He went to the East at an early age and was by 1218 a page in the service of Peter Chappe, a Cypriot knight, in whose retinue he was present at the siege of Damietta. While they

¹ Though the earlier writers on Philip thought him from Navarre, Gaston Paris proved that he was a Lombard from Novara: *Romania*, XIX (1890), 99-102; *Revue de l'Orient latin*, IX (1902), 164-205. Philip termed himself a Lombard, and the form of the name on charters is Novara oftener than Navarre.

were at Damietta Philip transferred from the service of Chappe to that of Ralph of Tiberias, the eminent jurist, from whom he learned the science of law in which he was later to acquire such fame. Concerning this Philip himself says: ²

It happened that I was at the first siege of Damietta with Sir Peter Chappe, and Sir Ralph of Tiberias took dinner one day with him; after eating, Sir Peter had me read before them from a romance; Sir Ralph said that I read most well. Afterwards Sir Ralph was sick, and Sir Peter Chappe, at the request of Sir Ralph, sent me to read before him. Thus it was that three months and more I was there, and much was I displeased by that which should have pleased me greatly; Sir Ralph slept little and badly, and when I had read as much as he wished, he himself told me many things concerning the kingdom of Jerusalem and the usages and assizes, and he said that I should remember them. And I, who greatly feared his manner, accepted everything. Afterwards I was in the company of my lord of Beirut the elder until his death, and he told me many things in his kindness at my request, for of this he never talked so willingly as Sir Ralph did. Afterwards was I well acquainted with my lord of Sidon at Beirut and at Acre and in Cyprus and many things he told me willingly in his kindness. And after all these great and wise lords was I much in the court with Sir William Viscount, and Sir Arneis, and Sir William de Rivet the younger, who were great pleaders. And in the kingdom of Jerusalem was I well acquainted with Sir Nicholas Antiaume and Sir Philip de Baisdoin, who were great pleaders both inside and outside the court.

Passing from the service of Ralph of Tiberias to that of John d'Ibelin of Beirut, Philip settled in Cyprus where he married. The marriage must have taken place before 1226 as Philip's son Balian, for whom Balian d'Ibelin stood godfather, was a knight in 1243.³ Although he was the first of his house to settle in the East,⁴ Philip soon acquired a position of some

² *Assises*, I, 525.

³ As Balian was a knight in 1243 he could not have been born after 1226, since he could scarcely have been a knight before he was seventeen. The identity of Philip's wife cannot be certainly established; she was probably that Stephanie du Morf who, according to the *Lignages d'Outremer* (p. 473), married Philip de Novare and had a son Baldwin. If it was she, the name of the son is given incorrectly in the *Lignages* as Baldwin instead of Balian. She was the daughter of Berthelmy du Morf, granddaughter of Laurens du Morf, and of a generation younger than Philip.

⁴ This is shown by the fact that when arrested in Cyprus he offered to prove his noble birth by the witness of men of his own country.

considerable importance, becoming one of the most trusted advisors and vassals of John d'Ibelin and his son Balian, from both of whom Philip held fiefs.

The years 1229 to 1253 are the most important in the life of Philip, and for the greater part of this period his own history affords us a full account. His first appearance was in 1229 when the five baillies of Cyprus attempted to assassinate him for refusing to accept their rule and to swear to recognize their bailliage. At this time he was already the possessor of fiefs and had acquired some considerable prestige in the Cypriot court, where he was a firm adherent of the Ibelins. Escaping from the baillies, Philip took refuge in the Hospital of St. John at Nicosia whence he sent to his lord Balian d'Ibelin for help. At the battle of Nicosia, in which the Ibelins engaged in order to rescue Philip and the noble ladies who were besieged with him, Philip led a group of soldiers out against the baillies and assisted in the victory (July 14, 1229). Philip also helped at the sieges of Dieudamor and Kantara and was wounded during the operations around the former.

When, in 1232, the Cypriots planned to appeal to the Western courts against the emperor, it was Philip who was to carry their appeal and he was only prevented from going by the surrender of the imperial garrison, an event which rendered the appeal unnecessary. Philip was present with John d'Ibelin at the relief of Beirut in 1232 and went with Balian d'Ibelin to Tripoli on the embassy to Bohemond which sought to draw that prince into the Cypriot alliance. Rejoining the main body of the Cypriot forces after the battle of Casal Imbert, Philip went with them to Cyprus, where he negotiated the surrender of the citadel of Famagusta and the castle of Kantara. He took part in the battle of Agridi, being one of the five who accompanied Balian d'Ibelin in his perilous attack on the hillside.

After the battle of Nicosia and during the siege of Cerines, Philip was given the governance of Nicosia and charge of the prisoners detained there, and it was he who, with Arneis de Gibelet, arranged the terms of the capitulation of Cerines in

1233. The next three years are a blank in Philip's narrative — he next appears in 1236 at the deathbed of John d'Ibelin of Beirut, holding the crucifix before his dying lord.

The height of his career was reached when in 1243 he persuaded the lords of Beirut and Toron and the high court of Jerusalem to delay their attack on Tyre until King Conrad should come of age and to establish Alice of Cyprus as ruler of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Philip was well rewarded for this by the grateful queen, who paid all his debts, which amounted to a thousand marks of silver, and granted him a fief of a thousand besants a year from the revenues of Acre. Philip subsequently took part in the siege of Tyre, acting as the royal procurator in equipping the fleet, and was the agent to whom was entrusted the establishment of the terms of capitulation of the citadel of Tyre.

The above incidents are all derived from Philip's own history, and some critics believe that he exaggerated the importance of his own rôle therein. There is, however, no reason to suspect this, as there is nothing in his account which contradicts the other sources, and none of the other sources attribute any of the deeds which Philip claims for himself to any other person. Certainly throughout the life of King Henry I of Cyprus, Philip de Novare was one of the regular advisers of the king, appearing on many charters as one of Henry's liegemen.⁵ After the death of King Henry in 1253 Philip, together with Guy d'Ibelin and Robert de Montguiscard, was one of the executors of the will of the deceased king, as is shown by a papal letter of 1255 threatening to excommunicate these executors unless they paid to the Church the tithes due under the terms of the will.⁶ In 1261 Philip made his last appearance in the charters, when he witnessed three grants to the Teutonic Knights by John d'Ibelin of Beirut, the son of his former lord and compeer, Balian.⁷ In 1264 he was referred

⁵ Charters of 1233, 1236, 1237, 1248, 1253; Röhrich, *Regesta*, Nos. 1049, 1071, 1078, 1156, 1208. On the last two he appears as a liegeman of the king.

⁶ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, III, 652; La Monte, *Cartulary of Santa Sophia*, No. 89.

⁷ Röhrich, *Regesta*, Nos. 1307, 1308, 1310.

to in a legal argument before the high court of Acre as "considered to be the best pleader this side of the sea,"⁸ and it was shortly after this, probably in 1265, when he was over seventy years old, that he wrote his *Quatre Ages de l'homme*. The exact date of his death is undetermined; there is no mention of him as living after 1264 and he probably died soon after that time. In 1269 his son Balian appeared as a witness on a charter of Hugh III, and it is possible that he had by that time entered into possession of the fiefs which his father had held from the crown.⁹

The fame of Philip de Novare rested, among his contemporaries and his countrymen, upon his skill as a pleader in the court and on his authorship of a manual of legal procedure. The *Livre de forme de plait*, or, as it is sometimes called, the *Livre à un sien ami*, is one of the most important works which make up the *Assises de Jérusalem*. While Philip's book is not a study in jurisprudence and does not rank with the greater work of his pupil, John d'Ibelin of Jaffa, whose book of *Assises de la haute cour* was adopted in 1369 as the official code for the kingdom of Cyprus, it is a clear and practical presentation of the laws and procedure which prevailed in the courts of Jerusalem and Cyprus. Novare's influence on Ibelin must have been considerable, for while Ibelin did not draw to any appreciable extent from Novare's written work there can be no doubt that he learned the law from him, and it is to the teaching of the older man that Ibelin owed his love of the legal science. Novare stands as the connecting link between the lost old *Lettres du sépulcre* of the early kingdom of Jerusalem, which he must have learned from Ralph of Tiberias, and the newer Cypriot law expounded by Ibelin. In many cases the laws of Ibelin differ from those of Novare, and these variations show the changes which had gradually taken place in the Outremer legislation. A comparison of the early *Livre au roi*, the work of Novare, and the *Assises* of Ibelin shows the evolu-

⁸ *Assises*, II, 404. The verb is *tient* not *tint* and so refers to him as living, not as dead, as Beugnot thought.

⁹ *Regesta*, No. 1368.

tion of the law of Jerusalem not only in the content of the law but in the method of approach. The *Livre au roi*, the oldest of the existant Outremer codes, which dates from the end of the twelfth century, contains simple statements of factual laws; Novare was content to affirm what the law was and to demonstrate how it should be pleaded. Ibelin wrote a treatise on the science of law and endeavored to ascertain the causes and underlying principles thereof in a manner worthy of the best jurisprudential science.¹⁰

Novare's book divides into three main parts: first, a statement of the rules of general procedure used in the courts of Outremer; second, a discussion of the special types of litigation, special assizes, the points of law involved in each and the opinions of eminent jurists thereon; and last, a discussion of the qualities and attributes which are requisite to the legal profession. The book is throughout a manual for lawyers and a guide to the actual practice of law, wherein the pleader before the court might learn the pitfalls to be avoided and the methods and ruses to be employed. Novare does not cite his own opinion on laws or points of procedure but contents himself with citing the opinions of others; he makes no attempt to derive from the laws any science or philosophy of the law — that remained to be done by his more talented and more celebrated pupil — and his work never, by its very nature, was able to command the respect or carry the weight of influence that Ibelin's did. Further, the appearance of Ibelin's work shortly after Novare's deprived the earlier book of much of the authority which it might otherwise have enjoyed. But though later generations did not place a great practical value on the *Livre de forme de plait*, the reputation of Philip de Novare has survived as one of the great names in the history of feudal law.¹¹

¹⁰ See M. Grandclaude, *Étude sur les livres des assises de Jérusalem*, and my *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*.

¹¹ The text of the *Livre de forme de plait* is published by Beugnot in *Les Assises de Jérusalem*, I, 469-571. Discussions are found in Beugnot's Introduction, pp. xxxvii-xlix; Grandclaude, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-81, 127-35; *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XIII, 94-96, and XXI, 441-47.

But Philip's literary activities were by no means confined to the realm of law. In his old age, Philip had opportunity to look back over his long and active life and to recall his past follies, some of which he repented, in consequence of which he wrote the philosophical and moral didactic treatise which he entitled *Les Quatre Ages de l'homme*.

In this work Philip divides the life of man into four periods of twenty years each and gives the characteristics of each age. In the first, childhood, man is young and must learn from his elders, and Philip outlines a plan for the moral education of children. In the second age, youth, which is according to Philip the most dangerous age for both men and women, man is hot-blooded and active. The years of youth are the years of love, sin, and folly, and of impetuous acts of violence and revolt. But the third age of man, that of middle age, from forty to sixty, Philip depicts as the age of true accomplishment when, having learned throughout childhood and having wearied of the rash follies of youth, man is prepared to bring to fruition the total of his abilities. It is the great age in the life of man and there are found his best virtues: prudence, loyalty, moderation, and others. In woman, however, as opposed to man, middle age is apt to be an age of even greater folly than youth, for many women in their mature years seek the favors of young men, endeavoring to simulate a false youth. The fourth age of man, old age, is accorded to man that he may have time while yet he lives to recall adequately God's kindness and the debts which he owes to his Creator. In his more active years he is inclined to forget his God and to be so immersed in mundane things that he is neglectful of his soul. That he may have time to repent of his earlier follies and sins and prepare himself for death, man is given this last sedentary, sad, and lonely age, when he can look beyond the grave to the life to come. Philip closes the work with a discussion of the virtues of tolerance, service, valor, and honor which are most desirable in man. The work, which is rather typical of the writings of old men who become deeply religious and moral in their old age,

is wholly lacking in that sparkle and dry sense of humor which creeps here and there into Philip's *History*. It is the work of the legist grown old; of the man who in his earlier years instructed young lawyers how to plead before the bar of the high court of the kingdom and who in his later years instructs the young in the means of preparing their briefs for pleading before the bar of the kingdom of Heaven.¹²

Of the other writings of Philip only the text here translated remains. In the *Quatre Ages* Philip himself describes this work as it was originally written:

Philip de Novare who wrote this book wrote two others. In the first he wrote concerning himself one part, for therein is told whence he was and how and why he came across the sea and how he conducted himself for a long time by the grace of Our Lord. Thereafter there are several rhymes and songs which he himself made, some concerning the great follies of this world which are called love, and also there were those which he made about the great war which occurred in his time between the emperor Frederick and the lord of Beirut, my lord John d'Ibelin the elder. And a most excellent account he made of this war itself from its beginning to its end, wherein are set forth the words and deeds and the great councils and battles and sieges arranged in order, for Philip was present at them all. Thereafter there are songs and rhymes of Our Lady and of the Saints of which he made many in his old age. This book he wrote in order that these poems and the great valor of the good lords should be and should remain the longer in the memory of those who are descended from him and from his other friends and all those who shall hear them.¹³

According to this statement, the *History* was then a part of a larger work which included: (1) an autobiography; (2) poems on love; (3) poems on the war; (4) the history of the war; and (5) religious poems. Of these the love poems and the religious poems have been lost entirely; the history and most of the poems on the war have been preserved in the *Gestes des Chiprois*, and a small part of the autobiography

¹² The *Quatre Ages de l'homme* was edited by Marcel de Fréville for the *Société des anciens textes français* (Paris, 1888). An excellent analysis and commentary is given by C. V. Langlois in his *La Vie en France au moyen âge d'après quelques moralistes du temps* (Paris, 1926), pp. 205-40.

¹³ *Les Quatre Ages de l'homme*, pp. 122-23. The second book mentioned by the author was the treatise on the laws.

may probably have been incorporated into the first section of the *Gestes*.

The absence of any original text makes the problem of dating the composition of the *History* extremely difficult. Paul Richter, who first attempted to solve the problem of dating the work, reached the conclusion that it was written in two parts, the first before 1247, the second after 1258.¹⁴ This theory was based on the idea that Philip first wrote an independent narrative of the earlier events and then later, after reading the *Eracles* and *Annales de Terre Sainte*, completed and revised his work, including materials derived from these sources. Gaston Paris pointed out that Philip could as well have written his entire history at one time and then have revised it all later, inserting at this time the references to later events which caused Richter to maintain that the latter part was of later date. The interpolations from the *Eracles* and *Annales* Paris showed to be added by the compiler of the *Gestes* rather than by Philip himself as they are not found in Amadi.¹⁵ Kohler's researches led him to the same conclusions as those already reached by Paris, and their final opinion was that the *History* was written between 1243 and 1247 and was later revised, sometime after 1254 or even 1258.¹⁶

As the *History* carries a narrative of events through 1243, it was obviously written after that date; but as it omits any mention either of Balian d'Ibelin's tenure of the bailliage in 1246-47 or of his death in 1247, it must have been written before those events occurred. Balian was Philip's closest friend and his immediate suzerain, and Philip would not have failed to mention such important events in his life. On the other hand, Philip does mention in passing a number of titles and offices

¹⁴ Paul Richter, "Beiträge zur Historiographie in den Kreuzfahrerstaaten," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, XIII (1892), 55-310; XV (1894), 561-99. In his second article Richter receded from some of the extreme statements made in his first.

¹⁵ Gaston Paris, "Les Mémoires de Philippe de Novare," *Revue de l'Orient latin*, IX (Paris, 1902), 164-205.

¹⁶ Kohler published his conclusions in the introductions to the edition of the *Festes in the Recueil des historiens des croisades* (Paris, 1906) and in his edition of the *Mémoires de Philippe de Novare* (Paris, 1913).

held by various members of the Ibelin house, which offices and titles they held only after 1247. John d'Ibelin the Younger is referred to as later becoming lord of Jaffa, a title which he first enjoyed in 1247; Guy is mentioned as constable and Baldwin as seneschal of Cyprus, offices which they held only after 1247; John d'Ibelin of Arsuf is designated as constable of Jerusalem, which he became only in 1251, and as several times bailli of the kingdom, an office which he held in 1247-48, 1249-54, 1256-58. These references are all made in identifying the various Ibelins and are not related as part of the history. From this it is evident that sometime after 1254 or 1258 Philip revised his narrative, not adding new episodes but merely identifying by their later titles characters who appeared in his story. The original text was written, however, before 1247, within a few years after the events with which it concludes.

III. PHILIP DE NOVARE'S "HISTORY," AN ESTIMATE

The *History of the War between the Emperor Frederick II and John d'Ibelin* cannot claim to be one of the great masterpieces of historical literature. It does not contain any deep philosophy of history nor is it even an unprejudiced attempt to determine the causation of events. Philip himself says that it is an account of the true causes of the war "as well as of the men and the great deeds," but his true causes are stated throughout from a partisan point of view, and the work is of interest as much for its quality of a Syrian Guelph narrative as for its accurate account of the events which occurred. The book is at once a philippic against the imperial party in the East and a panegyric of the house of Ibelin, of which he assures us that "in all Christendom there is not a greater house"; above all it is the biography of a great feudal hero, the old lord of Beirut.

Philip de Novare wrote with an amazing singleness of purpose; only such matters as bore directly on his chosen subject of the war between the emperor and the Ibelins find place in his pages. Such major events as the crusades of Thibaut of

Champagne and Richard of Cornwall, though they took place within the chronological limits of his history, were omitted entirely from Philip's narrative, and of the years when nothing directly affecting the war occurred Philip tells nothing; the years 1234-1235 and 1237-1240 are unrecorded, and 1236 is mentioned only for the death of the lord of Beirut. Further, Philip said nothing of things which had been done and already undone by the time he wrote: the papal censures of the Ibelins and the efforts of the Holy See to obtain a peace agreeable to the emperor were omitted as were the subsequent annulment of the peace and the reception of the Cypriots into the papal favor. These incidents had no bearing on the ultimate result and Philip passed them by, possibly feeling that they did no credit to the Church and were better forgotten. Probably the best example of this disregard for irrelevant matters is found in Philip's account of Frederick's campaigns in Syria and the treaty of Jaffa of 1229; some account of the emperor's actions in Syria was necessary to tie together the events in Cyprus which occurred before the crusade with those which took place after it, so Philip narrates the crusade in a single short paragraph. His account of the treaty of Jaffa is brief and incomplete, but he does not criticize it as an unchristian act as Patriarch Gerold did, and the provisions which he enumerated were those of the greatest benefit to the Syrian kingdom.

Philip's attack is not against Frederick personally; the only chapter in the *Gestes* which scandalously and libelously assails the emperor — paragraph 102 — is not the work of Philip but an interpolation from some western source. Not Frederick but Barlais and Filanger are the villains of Philip's history. Filanger is depicted as an unreasonable and lawbreaking tyrant, but Philip is not louder in his denunciation of the bailli than is the *Eracles*, and Frederick himself apparently recognized the faults of his agent, whom he imprisoned upon his return from Syria. But Barlais, the Renard of the poems, is the true villain; Barlais owed much to the Ibelins, he was received into their favor, he falsely pretended love and friend-

ship for them, and on every occasion he most treacherously betrayed them; the cowardice and scheming of Barlais and his colleagues perfectly set off the honesty and valor of the Ibelins.

In this connection it must be noted that Philip's hostility towards the Barlais party leads him to an interpretation which deviates from the path of absolute verity. The imperial party in Cyprus was made up, not of base villains all, but of gentlemen of the best Outremer families. Barlais himself came of an old house and was well connected, and the Bethsans, Gibelets, Porcellets, de Rivets, and Chenarts were all noble houses with honorable reputations. In Syria the imperial party included the greatest leaders of the time, Balian of Sidon, Eudes de Montbéliard, Garnier l'Aleman, and others, many of whom were themselves related to the house of Ibelin. This group, which supported the regency of Frederick for King Conrad, only adhered to the Ibelins when they had been driven thereto by the unconstitutional acts of the bailli Richard Filanger. Bohemond of Antioch, the greatest territorial prince of Outremer after the king of Jerusalem himself, was an imperial supporter and never gave his coöperation to the Cypriot cause. Philip presents only the Ibelins' side of the whole picture; to the imperial point of view the Ibelins and their adherents were a disgruntled faction who were attempting to retain an illegal control over the kingdom of Cyprus and to hide behind a veil of legal chicanery and personal privilege their rebellion against their lawful lord and suzerain, an interpretation evident in the scanty references to eastern affairs in the chronicle of Richard of San Germano and other western historians.

Apart from its character as a Guelph treatise and as a historical narrative, Philip's book is the saga or epic of a great hero. John d'Ibelin, the old lord of Beirut, is endowed by Philip with all the virtues becoming a gentleman, and one is tempted to think that in his old age Philip thought of his former lord and from him as a pattern derived the virtues which he extolled in the *Quatre Ages*. Brave, honorable, honest,

pious, restrained in his emotions, just, forgiving, and kindly, the character of John d'Ibelin is reflected in every incident of his life. And even discounting Philip's evident hero worship, the lord of Beirut stands out in heroic mold. His words, as reported by Philip, have ever in them a finely balanced moderation and force; his reasoned reply to Frederick at Limassol ends with the ringing phrase: "And be certain that for fear of death or of prison will I not do more unless the judgment of the good and loyal court requires me so to do." When he wished to express emphatically his distrust of the emperor and his promises, Ibelin did not resort to a denunciation of his opponent but carried his point with far greater force by the parable of the stag who had no heart. In many passages of Philip's narrative, as well as in the characters of the men portrayed, there is a great similarity between Philip's life of John d'Ibelin and Joinville's life of St. Louis. Both the French monarch and the Cypriot lord represent the finest developments of the feudal gentleman, both were kindly lords who commanded great love and loyalty from their people, both were just, reasonable, and religious, and both found their biographers in men of action who admired them and wrote their lives that future generations might know the qualities of the men whom they had been proud to call their lords.

Philip's work is no less readable and enjoyable than Joinville's and in one point may even be said to excel that of the Champenois, for Philip had a dry, sly sense of humor which crops out throughout his narrative. The most obvious instance is that scene in the court of Nicosia when Philip, arrested by the baillies, says that he cannot agree with de Gibelet's suggestion that he be killed "and that his father Sir Bertrand had many times spoken more wisely." And there are many other touches, less evident but no less humorous, such as the reference to the "lamb with the long ears" which the besieged ate in Dieudamor, and the characterizations of the various figures in the poems of the *branche* of the Renard.

Concerning these poems little need be said here. They de-

serve a special study in themselves, and such a study is being prepared by my colleague, Dr. Merton Jerome Hubert, who translated them for this volume. At times they are excellent poetry, at times the worst doggerel; in many cases clear, in some, as in the first poem, hopelessly obscure. Dr. Hubert, in transmitting the translation of the first poem remarked that he had preserved the "metre, rhyme scheme, and all the obscurity" of the original. As historical documents they are interesting in that they show Philip's immediate reaction to events as they occurred, and it will be noted that in the case of Balian's imprisonment at Limassol the passage of time aggravated rather than diminished Philip's recollection of the hardships and cruelties of this imprisonment.

Such is Philip's book, a partisan tract perhaps, but one which is raised far above the level of such tracts by the careful accuracy of the facts presented and by its concentration on the noble figure of its hero. Philip desired to preserve for future times the life of his old friend and lord and the great deeds of his party, and it may be said of him, as Professor Wilbur C. Abbott said so aptly of the Venerable Bede, that, "seeking to immortalize the achievements of others, he somehow managed to immortalize himself."¹

IV. THE CRUSADE OF FREDERICK II AND THE WAR AGAINST THE IBELINS

Inasmuch as the *History* of Philip de Novare presents a most prejudiced account of the aims and policies of Frederick II in the East and narrates the events of the struggle against him solely from the viewpoint of those who were at war with him, a short résumé of the history of the crusade of Frederick and the ensuing struggle seems appropriate to this introduction, that a more complete picture of the events can be obtained. Philip wrote so convincingly that unless the reader is wary he will find himself sharing Philip's prejudices and espousing the anti-imperial cause as a devoted partisan.

¹ W. C. Abbott, *Conflicts with Oblivion* (New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1924), p. 278.

Wherefore, as a corrective to Philip and with a desire "to render the devil his due," the following historical sketch is included here.

A. *The Preliminaries of the Crusade, 1215-1228.*¹ — On July 25, 1215, in the cathedral church at Aachen, Frederick II, who had just received the crown of the German kingdom from the hands of Siegfried, archbishop of Mainz, took the cross and pledged himself to the cause of the Holy War against the infidel, exhorting his vassals likewise to pledge themselves to the rescue of the holy places. It was a scene of splendid pageantry; the youthful Hohenstaufen raised again the banner of the cross carried by Conrad III and Frederick Barbarossa, and revived the glories of Charlemagne, that sword arm of Christendom whom popular legend had already seen as the first crusader and whose canonization the first Frederick had solemnized in that same church. Pope Innocent III had cause to rejoice in the spirit of his protégé and to feel that by this second Frederick (whom his parents had at first called Constantine) would be accomplished the results which the Third and Fourth Crusades had failed to effect.

The crusade of 1217, the Fifth Crusade, departed for the East as scheduled, but the youthful monarch of Germany and Sicily was not among its membership. The crusaders captured Damietta, advanced up the Nile, met with crushing defeat at Mansourah, and, leaving a large part of their host dead or prisoners in Egypt, crept home utterly broken; still Frederick postponed his departure. Honorius III, who succeeded Innocent on the papal throne in 1216, accepted Frederick's explanations and granted repeated delays during the years 1217 to 1222. The leaders of the ill-fated Fifth Crusade were loud in blaming Frederick for his failure to support them; the pope ordered a general congress to meet at Ferentino in March, 1223, at which plans for a new crusade were to be discussed.

¹ For the authorities on the period before the crusade, see Bibliography. I have followed here the general secondary accounts found in Röhrich, Huillard-Bréholles, Winkelmann, Kantorowicz, Bréhier, and Kington. Especially valuable is Röhrich's *Die Kreuzfahrt Kaiser Friedrichs des Zweiten*.

Cardinal Pelagius, the papal legate who had commanded the Fifth Crusade and to whom actually was due the tragic failure of that expedition, King John de Brienne of Jerusalem, Ralph, patriarch of Jerusalem, Herman von Salza, grand master of the Teutonic Knights, and the grand masters of the Temple and Hospital of St. John met there with Pope Honorius and Frederick. At this congress it was agreed that no military operations should be attempted for two years and Frederick's personal interest in the fate of the Levantine kingdom was secured by an arrangement whereby he was to marry Isabelle de Brienne, daughter of King John and heiress through her mother to the throne of Jerusalem. Frederick made ostentatious plans for departure for the next two years but in 1225, when he should have set out, found himself again unable to go. He asked for a further delay till 1227, which the indulgent pope granted, and instead of leading his army to the East, Frederick sent in August, 1225, a fleet of fourteen galleys to Acre bearing James, bishop of Patti, who was serving as the emperor's proxy to wed Princess Isabelle. The marriage took place in the church of the Holy Cross at Acre; following the ceremony the young queen was taken to Tyre where, in the cathedral, she was solemnly crowned queen of Jerusalem, in the presence of Ralph, patriarch of Jerusalem, Simon, archbishop of Tyre, Eudes de Montbéliard, the constable and regent of the kingdom, Balian of Sidon, Walter of Caesarea, John d'Ibelin of Beirut, and many others. For fifteen days after the coronation there was feasting and celebration in Tyre, at the end of which the queen departed for Italy. With her as a guard of honor went James de Vitry, bishop of Acre, Balian of Sidon, Eudes de Montbéliard, Simon, archbishop of Tyre, Daniel de Terremonde, Nicholas Antiaume, Guy l'Enfant, Guy de Roman, Philip Chenart, and several other important Syrian lords. They landed at Brindisi in October, and on November 9th Queen Isabelle was married to Frederick in person.²

² *Chronicon Siculis*, p. 897; *Eracles*, pp. 357-58; *Gestes*, pars. 89-91; Ryccardus, p. 345. Huillard-Bréholles (II, 525, 531-38) gives documents showing the

No sooner was the marriage performed than Frederick demanded the crown of Jerusalem from his father-in-law, King John, asserting that Isabelle was queen in her own right and that her marriage automatically terminated John's regency for her. John protested, but, as he had himself acquired the throne of Jerusalem by marriage to the queen thereof, he could not put up a very strong resistance. He insisted that it had been part of the marriage agreement that he should retain his crown as long as he lived, but Frederick denied this and, ignoring John's appeal to the pope, caused himself to be crowned king of Jerusalem. The Syrian barons who had accompanied Isabelle to Italy at once recognized Frederick as their king and performed homage to him. The emperor at once dispatched the bishop of Melfi to the East to secure the homages of the barons in Syria. With him went Count Berardo Gentile of Nardo and Count Stephen of Cotron and a force of three hundred knights to garrison the country in the name of the emperor. And Eudes de Montbéliard, the constable who had acted as regent during the absence of King John, was continued in the bailliage until the emperor should come to Syria in person.³

Although the pope refused to recognize Frederick as king of Jerusalem and continued to accord that title to John de Brienne, the barons of Jerusalem readily accepted Frederick as their king, apparently without raising any question as to his title. King John had been king in his capacity of husband of Queen Marie, and after her death, as the regent for their daughter Isabelle. With her marriage and coronation in Tyre Isabelle became in her own name queen of Jerusalem and accordingly carried the royal title to her husband. If Frederick complied with the law of the kingdom which demanded that

Jerusalemite barons as witnesses in Italy. The chronology followed is that of the *Chronicon Siculis*, which seems preferable to that given in the *Gestes*, although Bréhier and Mas Latrie accept the chronology of the *Gestes* that the queen left Syria in July, 1224. If this was the case, what was she doing in the interval between her arrival in Italy and her marriage in November, 1225?

³ *Eracles*, pp. 358-59.

the ruler appear within a year and a day after inheriting the kingdom to claim his inheritance, there could be no legal objection to him as king of Jerusalem.⁴

Great preparations were made for the crusade which was scheduled for August, 1227. To Brindisi came armies from Germany under Landgrave Louis of Thuringia and Duke Henry of Lemberg; forty thousand English came under the bishop of Exeter and the bishop of Winchester, the infamous Peter des Roches; from Lombardy and from Apulia, from Sicily and from farther Germany the crusading host assembled at that hot and unhealthy port in the heat of summer. Count Thomas of Acerra was sent on ahead to act as bailli in Syria until the emperor should arrive in person.⁵

Though Frederick, as he later pointed out, had fulfilled all the obligations which he had undertaken in connection with the crusade, the host which arrived at Brindisi found conditions unprepared, the requisite number of ships for such a vast army had not been provided, the commissariat was ill organized, the sanitary conditions of the camp were miserable and the food supplies and lodgings were inadequate. In the heat of the Apulian summer the northern warriors fell victim to the plague, and the ravages of the disease and the desertion of many of the contingents of the host soon reduced the numbers considerably.

On September 8, 1227, the emperor finally put out to sea and the crusade seemed actually to have been begun, but the plague which had destroyed so many had not spared even the imperial majesty and Frederick was forced by ill health to

⁴ See my *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 46-48. Frederick was destined to lose the kingdom through the operation of the same law whereby he acquired it, as will be demonstrated below.

⁵ This date for the departure of Count Thomas is from the *Eracles*, p. 364, and Ryccardus, p. 348. The *Gestes* (par. 118), following the *Annales de Terre Sainte* (p. 238), gives 1226. As this is one of the later interpolations it seems better to follow the *Eracles* and Ryccardus, who wrote independently and earlier. Lists of some of the leaders of the crusade are to be found in Winkelmann, *Kaiser Friedrich II*, I, 234-37; II, 490-92, and Röhrich, *Beiträge*, pp. 18-19. Sanuto (Bongars, II, 211) places the departure of Acerra before the death of the sultan of Damascus.

turn back and come into port at Otranto, advised thereto by von Salza and Gerold, the new patriarch of Jerusalem.⁶ At Otranto Louis of Thuringia died; Frederick, sending on most of the fleet — 800 knights and 10,000 infantry — under the duke of Lemburg and Patriarch Gerold, postponed his own departure until his health should improve.⁷

But the amiable Honorius III was no longer in possession of the See of Peter. He had died on March 18, 1227, and had been succeeded by Cardinal Ugolino of Ostia, an old man of amazing vitality who assumed the name of Gregory IX and who envisaged himself another Gregory VII called upon to administer a second Canossa on an unregenerate emperor. As soon as the aged pope heard of Frederick's return, he launched against him the excommunication of the Church, justifying his action by the terms of Frederick's oath at San Germano.⁸

There is some justification indeed for Gregory's action in the record of Frederick's repeated procrastinations; what the pope did not know was that this time Frederick was undoubtedly sincere in his plans to depart for Syria and that circumstances had arisen which made the sailing in 1227 particularly desirable from the emperor's point of view.

Since 1225 the political situation in Syria had been acute. The Ayyubite princes, el Malik el Kamel Mohammed of Egypt and el Malik el Moadden Isa of Damascus, had been engaged in a brotherly war, struggling for the control of Palestine, and

⁶ Ryccardus, p. 348; *Eracles*, p. 364; *Chron. Sicul.*, p. 897. Gerold of Lausanne, former abbot of Cluny and bishop of Valence, had been appointed patriarch of Jerusalem at the death of Ralph de Merencourt in 1225.

⁷ Matthew Paris, III, 160, 575-89; *Eracles*, pp. 363-65. The forces which went ahead under the duke of Lemburg while they awaited the emperor busied themselves in rebuilding the fortifications of Sidon and Caesarea. It was this postponement that caused Amaury Barlais such embarrassment and forced his fight with Anceau. (See below, p. 71-72.)

⁸ The excommunication was launched September 29 and repeated thereafter (Ryccardus, p. 348). It is published in full in a bull of October 10, (*MGH. Epis.* I, 281-85) and the most complete discussion is to be found in Winkelmann, *Friedrich*, I, 329-39. Gregory refused to hear Frederick's envoys who attempted to explain. Frederick's published explanation and defense is given in H-B. III, 36-50.

in the year 1225 el Moadden had attempted the overthrow of his rival. El Kamel began reprisals and Moadden allied himself with the sultan of Khwarezm, whereupon el Kamel set out in search of an ally to counterbalance the alliance formed against him. In 1226 he sent an embassy to Frederick asking union against Damascus and offering him Jerusalem and several Palestinian cities then held by Moadden as the price of his aid. As Frederick's crusade would be aimed at Damascus, the alliance offered many advantages to Frederick and he entered into negotiations with the Egyptian monarch. Embassies were exchanged and the business was well under way when Frederick started out in 1227 and was forced to turn back.⁹ Thus the delay was probably as embarrassing to the emperor as to the pope, as Frederick was really desirous of going to Palestine to recover the lands of his kingdom there. Disregarding the fulminations and censures of the indignant papacy which denounced him and declared him incapable of proceeding on the crusade until the ban of excommunication had been raised, Frederick calmly continued with his plans for departure for the East. He offered to perform whatever penance the pope might impose upon him for having failed to depart on the date promised and pointed out that he had met all the obligations which he had undertaken to perform anent the crusade and that his illness was not his fault nor were the difficulties at Brindisi of his making or within his power to control. Gregory ignored his protestations and endeavored to set every obstacle in his path, trumping up false and ridiculous charges against Frederick, such as his having poisoned Landgrave Louis, and getting entirely away from the subject of the crusade in a denunciation of the emperor's policies towards the Papal States and the Sicilian episcopate. Frederick defended himself, keeping the discussion on the immediate matter of the crusade and continued his arrangements for his

⁹ For the history of the negotiations between Frederick and el Kamel, see E. Blochet, "Les Relations diplomatiques des Hohenstaufens avec les sultans d'Egypte," *Revue historique*, LXXX (1902), 51-64, in addition to Röhricht and Winkelmann.

departure thereon. While Frederick was celebrating Easter at Bari word was brought from Thomas of Acerra, his bailli in Syria, that Sultan Moadden of Damascus was dead, whereupon the emperor at once dispatched a force of five hundred knights to the East under the command of his imperial marshal, Richard Filanger.¹⁰

Amidst all these preparations for departure, Empress Isabelle was confined with child, and on April 25, 1228, at Andria was delivered of a son who was named Conrad.¹¹ The ordeal of childbirth was, however, too great for the seventeen-year-old empress, and she died ten days later,¹² leaving Conrad the heir to her throne of Jerusalem. Before Frederick had been able to start for his kingdom of Jerusalem, his title had been snatched away from him, and when he finally set sail on June 28 his only legal claim to the throne of the eastern kingdom lay in his position as regent for his infant son. He sailed, moreover, in spite of the prohibition of the pope who forbade an excommunicate not reconciled with the Church to undertake a crusade.

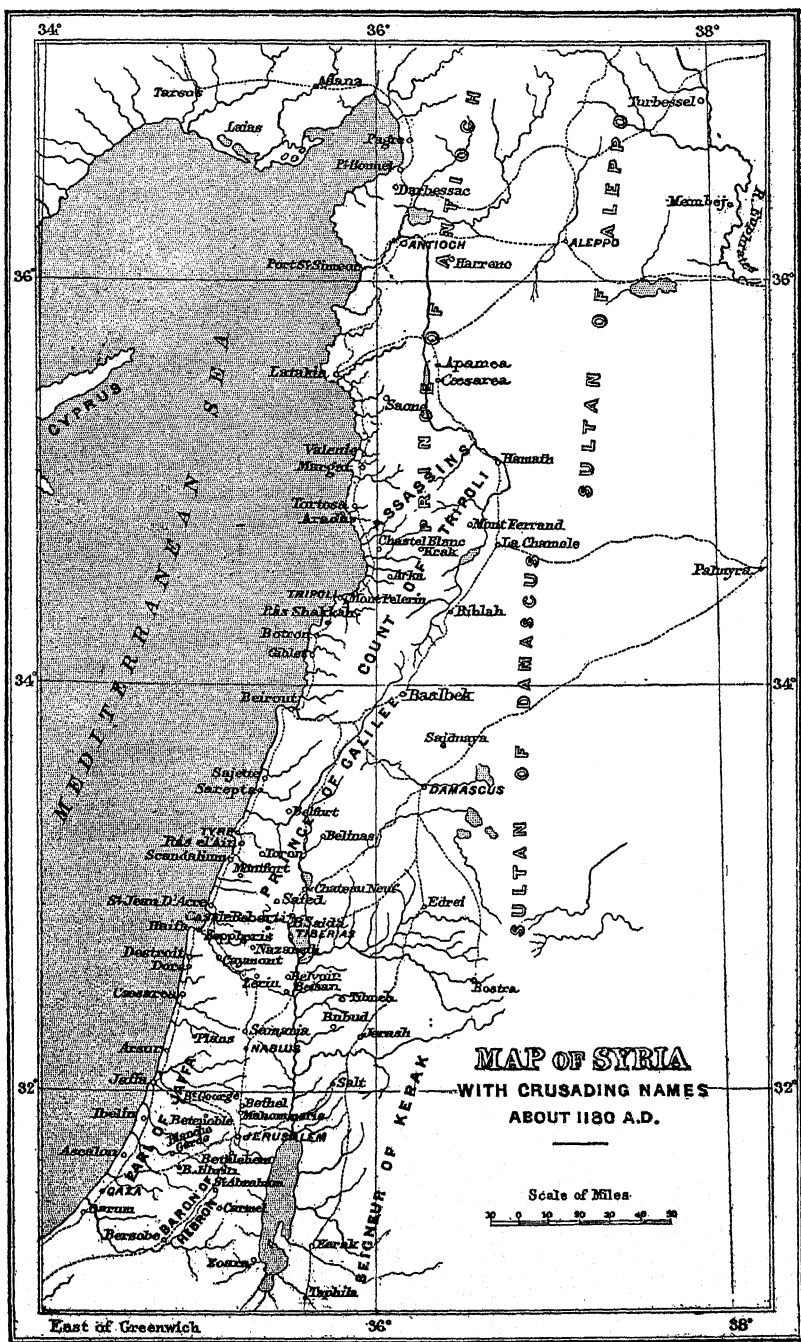
B. *The Crusade, June, 1228-May, 1229.* — When in the teeth of papal prohibition the emperor sailed from Brindisi in June, 1228, on his much delayed crusade, his armament was but slight, consisting of only forty vessels. The major portion of the host had, of course, preceded him, but even taking that into consideration, the imperial crusade was of far less magnitude than had originally been planned. After cruising for twenty-four days past the coasts of Corfu, Cephalonia, the Morea, and Crete, the imperial fleet arrived on July 21 at the harbor of Limassol in Cyprus where it was met by Thomas of Acerra, Filanger, Balian of Sidon, and some of the chief nobles of the kingdom.¹

¹⁰ Ryccardus, p. 349.

¹¹ Böhmer-Ficker, *Regesta imperii*, V, 347, 796-97.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 1043.

¹ The itinerary of the imperial crusade is given day by day in the *Chronicon Siculis*, translated in Appendix I. Its author was present in person on the crusade. Most of the events mentioned in this section are derived from Philip de Novare himself.



The kingdom of Cyprus was ruled at the time by King Henry I, a minor for whom John d'Ibelin, lord of Beirut, was acting as bailli to administer the realm. Frederick, who considered Cyprus as an imperial fief since King Amaury had received his royal title from Henry VI in 1197 and had recognized the suzerainty of the Empire, was determined to press his rights as suzerain over the island, and had been encouraged thereto by Amaury Barlais and a group of anti-Ibelin barons who had come out to meet him near the Morea and had pointed out to him the value in men, money, and supplies which the possession of Cyprus would afford him in his campaigns on the continent. The issue involved was one of law, for by the imperial law Frederick, as suzerain, had the right to the wardship of the minor heir of the kingdom as an imperial vassal. By the law of Cyprus, however, the regency was held by Alice, the mother of Henry, as the nearest relative of the child king, and the high court of Cyprus had appointed Philip d'Ibelin to administer the kingdom for Queen Alice during the minority of the heir. When Philip had assumed the governance of the realm, the barons had accordingly sworn to obey his rule until Henry should come of age, and while Queen Alice was given the revenues of the kingdom, the government was entrusted to the Ibelin. It was probably because he feared that the emperor would claim the wardship of the minor king that Ibelin had caused Henry to be crowned in 1225 when the plans for the imperial crusade were bruited in Cyprus. Philip d'Ibelin died in 1227, but the administration of the kingdom had, with the approval of the high court, at once been taken over by his brother John, lord of Beirut. The quarrels between the Ibelins and Barlais, who attempted to secure the bailliage through Queen Alice and whose pretensions were rejected by the court, raised against Ibelin a strong party of opposition and it was the hope of this party that the emperor would assert his rights and deprive Ibelin of his bailliage.

When Frederick demanded of Ibelin that he surrender the king and the governance of the realm to him, the lord of

Beirut acceded to the imperial demands as regarded the person of the king, recognizing the emperor as the suzerain of the king, but refusing to account for the bailliage which he held by the authority of the high court to which alone he was responsible. Queen Alice was the regent and had the enjoyment of the revenues, and he, Ibelin, had only the governance of the realm which had been granted him by the court, and he agreed to render his accounting to the court of Nicosia for all that he had done. Frederick deliberately confused the issue by demanding in addition the surrender to him, as king of Jerusalem, of the city of Beirut, which Ibelin held as a fief in Jerusalem. It is necessary, for clarity, to distinguish carefully the two relationships which existed between Frederick and Ibelin. As the suzerain of the king of Cyprus Frederick could command the allegiance of Ibelin as a Cypriot vassal, and this Ibelin willingly recognized. But Frederick claimed the regency for King Henry which, according to the law of Cyprus, belonged to Queen Alice, and insisted upon the recognition of his rights as regent, which Ibelin refused to make. In Frederick's opinion Ibelin's governance of the realm necessarily ended when he, the lawful regent, arrived and claimed his rights, and Ibelin was bound to render to him an accounting for the years in which he had enjoyed the bailliage. Ibelin, on the other hand, considered himself the administrative bailli for Queen Alice, the legal regent, and responsible only to the high court which had granted him his authority until the king should come of age. He was in consequence willing to surrender to Frederick, as Henry's suzerain, the person of the young king but refused any accounting save to the high court of Nicosia. The second relationship was between Frederick as king of Jerusalem and Ibelin as lord of Beirut, Ibelin was quite willing to perform homage to Frederick as king of Jerusalem and to serve him for his fief of Beirut which he held from him, but Frederick demanded the immediate surrender of the fief, which he claimed pertained to the royal domain. The fief had been granted Ibelin by King Amaury II and Queen Isabelle, and

by the laws of Jerusalem a liegeman was protected in the possession of his fief against the arbitrary exactions of the king, for it was distinctly provided that a liegeman could be disseised of his fief only by the action of the high court of Jerusalem. The question involved here was entirely one of the prerogative rights of the Jerusalemite king; Frederick was attempting to exercise a prerogative hitherto unheard of in Outremer and Ibelin was maintaining the rights of the liegemen as guaranteed in the Assizes of the kingdom. The conflict was more than a struggle between Frederick and the lord of Beirut, it was the fundamental conflict between the rival systems of Roman law and prerogative on the one hand and feudal law and the rights of the individual on the other. The laws of the crusading states had been established in the twelfth century on a purely feudal basis and the rights of the individual were in every case protected. Of prerogative the *Assises de Jérusalem* knew nothing; they included no Roman law maxims or influences. Frederick II might be the despot of Sicily and the Roman law emperor of Germany but in Jerusalem he was the feudal king, subject to the law and unable to act without the consent of the high court, which was composed of the liegemen of the kingdom and which was sovereign in all things.²

The details of the struggle are told best by Philip de Novare; Ibelin gave hostages for his appearance in the courts of both Cyprus and Jerusalem and retreated towards Nicosia. When Frederick followed him there the lord of Beirut refused to fight against the man who was his suzerain and retreated to Dieudamor, abandoning Nicosia to his enemies. Had Frederick had more time the matter might have been fought out and settled conclusively in the summer of 1228, but he had received word of the rebellion which the pope was raising in Italy against him and was anxious to complete his crusade and return to the West. Consequently a treaty was made whereby

² A more complete exposition of the position of the monarch and of the supremacy of the high court is to be found in my *Feudal Monarchy*.

Ibelin's hostages were returned and the castles of the kingdom, the obvious evidences of governance, were surrendered into the hands of liegemen of King Henry selected by the emperor, who held them in the name of the king. Ibelin promised to accompany Frederick on his crusade, and on September 3, having spent forty-three days in Cyprus, Frederick departed for Syria taking King Henry with him.

Sailing past Botron, Beirut, Sidon, and Tyre, the emperor came to Acre, where he was enthusiastically received by the populace, though the clergy refused him the kiss of peace until he should have become reconciled with the Church. This friendliness of the people was, however, of but short duration, for within a few days after the arrival of the imperial fleet some Franciscan friars reached Acre bearing messages from the pope which denounced Frederick and ordered all good Christians to shun and avoid him since he was excommunicate and unrepentant. The emperor sent Count Henry of Malta and the archibishop of Bari to Rome to present his case to Pope Gregory and endeavor to secure peace that the crusade might go on unimpeded, but they found the aged pope adamant in his refusal to accept the imperial excuses.

Meanwhile from Acre Frederick reopened negotiations with the sultan el Kamel, who was encamped at Nablus. Thomas of Acerra and Balian of Sidon were the imperial ambassadors and the famous sheik Fakr ed Din was returned as the Sultan's envoy to the emperor. Frederick was most anxious that the alliance should be completed on the terms offered by el Kamel in 1226, but the sultan had no desire to grant such liberal concessions now that el Moadden was dead and the menace from Damascus removed. For at the death of el Moadden the Egyptian sultan had invaded Palestine and had possessed himself of Jerusalem and Nablus, and he was less willing to make over to Frederick cities which he held himself than he had been to give them away when they were in the hands of his rival. Further, in August, 1228, he secured from el Malik el Aschraf Musa of Mesopotamia, a third brother, a treaty

whereby they divided the possessions of el Moadden, wholly dispossessing el Malik en Nasir Daoud, the son and heir of el Moadden. El Kamel's position was thus incomparably strengthened and his need of Frederick's alliance was slight. Frederick, on the other hand, had great need of the sultan for, with the small force at his command, he could not hope to conquer anything by arms but must rely on the good will of the sultan and the prospect of securing through negotiation the fulfillment of the terms previously offered. Frederick's position was further weakened in that the sultan knew of the quarrel between the emperor and the pope and the lack of unity within the Christian host; Gregory even wrote directly to the sultan asking him to make no concessions to Frederick. That the crusade was able to accomplish the results it did was due primarily to the mutual respect which was engendered between the emperor and the sultan and to the friendship of Fakr ed Din, who strove with all his might to establish friendly relations between the two like-minded rulers.

El Kamel moved from Nablus to Gaza and Frederick followed him south, marching to Jaffa in November, 1228. As Patriarch Gerold had issued the ban of the Church against the emperor, the masters of the Hospital and Temple refused to march under the imperial banner but compromised by following a day's march after Frederick's army and announcing that they served not in the army of the emperor but in that of Christ. The presence of the crusading army, small though it was, constituted something of a menace to el Kamel, and though the Christians were too few seriously to endanger Egypt, they were sufficient to prevent the sultan's ignoring them and continuing his war in Syria, where he was reducing the former Damascene possessions. El Kamel hoped for a time that Frederick would be unable to maintain himself long in Palestine and would be forced to return to the West without being able to accomplish the desired reconquest of Jerusalem, and though he calculated well the emperor's desire to return to Italy, he did not take into sufficient consideration Frederick's deter-

mination to bring back some tangible results of his expedition that he might not be shown a failure in the eyes of the Christian world. Both Frederick and Gregory had appealed to public opinion, and Frederick was bound to return with the fruits of victory however obtained. Consequently while el Kamel prolonged the negotiations, Frederick hung on tenaciously, insisting upon the surrender to him of Jerusalem and the other Palestinian towns. For a time his situation was crucial. The fleet carrying provisions was delayed by storms and could not reach Jaffa for some time after the arrival of the army, the men suffered much from shortage of provisions and supplies, and the emperor was becoming desperate. But fortune finally smiled upon him; el Malik en Nasir Daoud, the dispossessed prince of Damascus who had invaded Syria to reconquer his father's domains which his uncles were attacking, was besieged in Damascus by el Aschraf, and there was danger to el Kamel either that en Nasir Daoud might regain his lands or that el Aschraf might decide to occupy more than his share. In order to preserve his conquests in Syria it was necessary that el Kamel free himself of the crusaders and intervene actively in the Syrian war. Consequently Fakr ed Din was able to arrange a treaty whereby Frederick received far more than he could have otherwise secured and which enabled him to return home bringing "peace with honor." The emperor is reported as having said to Fakr ed Din: "If I did not fear to lose my prestige in the eyes of the Franks I should not have sought to impose all this on the sultan," while el Kamel defended the treaty with the remark: "I have ceded nothing to the Franks but churches and houses in ruins, while the Mosque remains in its entirety and the practices of Islam are observed there; further, the Moslems remain the masters of the province and the villages which depend on it."⁸ And while the treaty was violently criticized by both sides the Moslems did seem to have the better grounds for complaint.

⁸ Makrizi, *Histoire de l'Egypte* (translated by Blochet in the *Revue de l'Orient latin*, VI-XI, 1898-1908), IX, 525-26; Bedr ed Din Alaïny, *RHC. Or.* II (1), 189; Abou'l Feda, "Annals" *RHC. Or.* I, 103-5. The Arab historians are

This Treaty of Jaffa, which was finally concluded February 18, 1229, was a personal agreement between the sultan and the emperor. It was secretly arranged, none of the Syrian magnates were consulted in the drafting thereof, whereat they took umbrage, and it rested entirely on the good will of the sultan and the emperor for its enforcement. That it was made in favor of Frederick personally and not in behalf of the kingdom of Jerusalem or the Christian Church was an especial grievance of the clergy. The chief provisions of the treaty were: (1) the sultan delivered over to Frederick or his officers the city of Jerusalem; (2) the Temple Area, including the Dome of the Rock, was reserved to the Moslems, who were to be free to exercise their religion there unmolested; (3) Moslems were to be allowed free right of pilgrimage to shrines at Bethlehem and other holy places of their religion; (4) Franks should be allowed to enter the Temple Area for the purpose of prayer, provided they showed proper respect for "the dignity of the Temple of the Lord"; (5) Moslems in Jerusalem were to have their own court to which they were amenable; (6) the emperor promised to remain neutral in any war which might be waged against the sultan and not to assist anyone against him; (7) the emperor should forbid any of his subjects to make war against the sultan and distrain anyone who proposed to do so; (8) the emperor pledged himself to enforce the terms of the treaty and prevent any breach of the truce; (9) Tripoli, Antioch, Tortosa, and the castles of Safita, Margat, and Crac (castles belonging to the Temple and Hospital) should be left as they were (i.e., excluded from the treaty), and the emperor should prevent his subjects, Syrian and others, from assisting the lords of these territories against the sultan; (10) St. George (Lydda) and the villages between

of prime importance in the study of Frederick's crusade and the negotiations with el Kamel since they explain, as the western authorities do not, the political situation in Syria. The section in Reinaud's fourth volume of Michaud's *Bibliothèque des croisades*, pp. 426-36, gives chiefly the account from Yaféi and Abou'l Feda. Kantorowicz (pp. 182-203) has an interesting account in which he expresses rather extreme views concerning Frederick's friendliness to the Moslems.

it and Jerusalem should be restored to the emperor; (11) Nazareth and the villages between it and Acre should be restored to the emperor; (12) Toron with its lands and villages should be restored; (13) Sidon and its vicinity should be restored; (14) Bethlehem and the villages between it and Jerusalem should be restored; (15) the walls of Jerusalem, Jaffa, Caesarea, and Montfort (a castle of the Teutons) might be rebuilt by the Christians (though Makrizi states that the city of Jerusalem was not to be fortified); (16) no new fortresses were to be built nor were any old ones to be reconstructed by the Egyptians during the time of the truce; (17) there was to be a complete exchange and restoration of prisoners, including many of those captured in the Damietta campaign; (18) the truce was to last for ten years, five months, and forty days.⁴

Although this treaty accomplished more for the Christians of Syria than had any crusade since the first and although it was popular with the great mass of the crusading army and the people of the country, it was unacceptable to the patriarch Gerold and the clergy.⁵ More properly was the treaty de-

⁴ The text of the treaty given here is made up from several accounts: articles 1 through 9 are derived from Gerold's letter to the pope written immediately after the treaty was signed (published in: Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, III, 626-29; H-B. III, 86-90; *MGH. Epis.* I, pp. 296-99; English translation in R.G.D. Laffan, *Select Documents of European History*, I, 68-71); articles 10 through 18 are taken from the letter of Herman von Salza to the pope, c. March 15 (published in: H-B. III, 90-93; *MGH. Leges*, IV (2), 161-62; translation in Laffan, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-72); articles 10 through 14 were also given by Gerold in his letter of March 26 to the pope (H-B. III, 102-10; *MGH. Epis.* I, 299-304). Although Gerold stated that Toron was not to be fortified, he did admit the territorial gains. Other letters and chronicle accounts in which some of the terms are given are: Frederick's letters of March 18, and the pope's encyclical letters of July 18, 1229 (H-B. III, 93-99, 147-51; *MGH. Leges*, IV (2), 163-67; *MGH. Epis.* I, 315-17); the *Eracles*, pp. 370-74; Ryccardus, p. 354; Burchard and Conrad of Ursperg (*MGH. SS. XXIII*, 383); Philip de Novare (see below, pp. 88-89); and the Arabs Makrizi, Abou'l Feda, Bedr ed Din Ala'iny and Yaféi as cited above. The best discussions in secondary works are: Winkelmann, *Kaiser Friedrich*, II, 113-15; Röhricht, *Beiträge*, pp. 40-42, and *Geschichte*, pp. 782-86; Stevenson, *Crusaders in the East*, pp. 311-13; Huillard-Bréhalles, Introduction to the *Historia diplomatica*, pp. 337-38; Blochet in *Revue historique*, LXXX, 56-57.

⁵ Alberic de Trois Fontaines (*MGH. SS. XXIII*, 925) says that the pilgrims and lesser folk, who gained thereby the right to go freely and safely on their pilgrimages, praised the emperor for the treaty. Gerold's objections are set out item by item in his first letter to the pope and repeated in part in later letters.

nounced among the Moslems, who felt that the sultan had been overly generous; en Nasir Daoud, especially, refused to approve an instrument whereby his uncle gave away cities which he felt belonged rightly to him, and this fact was emphasized by Patriarch Gerold, who made Daoud's refusal a point of opposition from the Christian side. Primarily the patriarch objected that the treaty allowed the Moslems to worship in Jerusalem and pledged the emperor not to permit any crusade against Egypt, which in the eyes of the clergy was a most unchristian provision.

The refusal of the patriarch and en Nasir Daoud to accept the treaty did not make it the less valid, however, as far as concerned Frederick and el Kamel; and the emperor was most anxious, now that the treaty was settled, to complete his business and return to the West. Accordingly he moved on towards the Holy City, which he entered on March 17. The following day, exactly a month after the signature of the treaty, he solemnly crowned himself king of Jerusalem in the church of the Holy Sepulchre. Many of the Syrian barons, under orders from the patriarch, refused to follow the emperor to Jerusalem but returned to Acre, although the crusaders from the West, the Teutonic Knights, and a good number of the local barons accompanied him. As the emperor was still excommunicate, the coronation ceremony was performed without the approval of the papacy although the archbishops of Capua and Palermo as well as many of the lesser clergy were present. The crown of Jerusalem was laid upon the altar of the church from which the emperor himself took it and placed it upon his own head. Then through the mouth of von Salza he spoke to the people, assuring them of his great desire for peace and reconciliation with the pope and justifying himself in regard to the charges brought against him.

But the celebration was soon turned to sadness, for shortly after the coronation the archbishop of Caesarea, acting on the orders of the patriarch, placed the Temple and the holy

places of the city under the interdict.⁶ This was indeed a sad blow to the pilgrims who had journeyed to the Holy City and who were now deprived of the spiritual benefits involved therein and even penalized for being there. After arranging hurriedly for the defense of the banned city, Frederick withdrew and marched back to Jaffa whence, on March 25, exactly a week after his coronation, he returned to Acre.⁷

The month of April the emperor spent in Acre. He had several scores to settle before he left the country, among which the most important were those against the patriarch and against the Templars, whom he accused of having attempted to kill him from ambush at the request of the pope.⁸ For five days he besieged the patriarch and the Templars within their houses at Acre, setting up war engines and conducting regular siege operations against them. To this the patriarch replied by placing under ecclesiastical censure all those who assisted the emperor and opposed himself and the Templars. This edict was preached by the friars and upon them fell the wrath of the emperor, who ordered them dragged

⁶ The details of the coronation are best given in the letters of Gerold, von Salza, and of Frederick himself (H-B. III, 93-110; *MGH. Epis.* I, 299-304; *MGH. Leges*, IV [2], 163-68). The *Eracles* (p. 374), the *Chronicon Sicul.* and nearly every chronicle of the time carry some mention of the coronation, which made a deep impression on both Christians and Moslems.

⁷ The *Chronicon Sicul.* is in error both on the date of the Treaty of Jaffa and on the return to Acre, which it places in March and April respectively. Gerold referred to the date of the return to Acre as "in media quadragesima" and "subsequenti vero die Dominica qua cantatur *Laetare Jerusalem*" (letters of Gerold in *MGH. Epis.* I, 304, and Matthew Paris, III, 181).

⁸ Matthew Paris, III, 177-79, relates the incident of the Templars' planning to ambush the emperor and slay him. They wrote to the sultan informing him of their plan and the sultan forwarded the letter to Frederick. Bartholemew of Neocastra (Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, XIII, 1162-63) gives the letters of the pope to the Templars, Hospitallers, and the sultan asking that Frederick be destroyed (Röhrich, *Regesta*, no. 998). Röhrich in his *Beiträge*, I, 74-75 argues that these letters are forgeries and terms them "Ghibelline fictions." See also Winkelman, *Friedrich*, II, 127 and notes. Whether one accepts these stories of attempts on his life or not, there can be no doubt as to the hostility between the Temple and Frederick. Frederick's letter to Richard of Cornwall (Matthew Paris, III, 576) says that the legates opposed him and that the pope wrote the sultan not to yield him anything, but does not mention this plot of the Templars.

from their pulpits and beaten through the streets of the city like common thieves.⁹ The emperor had, meanwhile, been binding the Teutonic Knights and the Pisans more closely to himself by a series of liberal charters which are dated from Acre in April, 1229.¹⁰ At the same time he sold the bailliage of Cyprus to Amaury Barlais and his four colleagues and appointed Balian of Sidon and Garnier l'Aleman his baillies in Syria. Having hurriedly completed his arrangements and being most anxious to get back to Italy, where the papal army under John de Brienne was invading Apulia and Capua, the emperor set sail for home on May 1 in the fleet which Count Henry of Malta had recently brought from the West.

Frederick's departure from Acre left conditions in Syria unsettled. The patriarch and the clergy still refused to accept his treaty with Egypt, the Templars were openly hostile, Ibelin's case had never been brought to trial in the high court and so remained undecided, and Frederick's baillies in Cyprus were endeavoring to destroy the wealth and strength of the Ibelins in the island. The crusade was over but the effects thereof on the Latin states of Outremer had hardly begun to be felt.

C. The Imperial-Ibelin War to the Expulsion of the Imperialists from Cyprus, 1229-1233. — The time immediately following Frederick's return from the crusade was one of great good fortune for the cause of the emperor. In the West he was successful in driving the papal armies out of his Italian kingdom and in carrying the war into the Papal States, while in Syria Balian of Sidon, his bailli, defeated an attempt of some Moslem bedouins to capture Jerusalem and secured the acceptance of the Treaty of Jaffa from the sultan of Damascus. The possessions of the Templars were confiscated in Sicily, and in the East they were forced to give up

⁹ Letter of Gerold in May 1229: Matthew Paris, III, 179-84; H-B. III, 135-40. The gist of this letter is repeated by the pope to the duke of Austria, July 18: H-B. III, 147-51; *MGH. Epist.* I, 315-17.

¹⁰ H-B. III, 117-35; Rohricht, *Regesta*, nos. 1003-14.

their pretensions to Sidon and Tyre.¹ The anti-imperial party took the offensive shortly after the departure of the emperor, but their attempt to dislodge Frederick from the throne of Jerusalem failed and the barons of the high court declared themselves the liegemen of King Conrad and of Frederick his father. This attempt centered around the person of Alice of Cyprus, the daughter of Isabelle of Jerusalem and Henry of Champagne, who came before the high court demanding the throne of Jerusalem as the closest heir after Queen Isabelle, who was dead. She admitted that Conrad was legally king but insisted that as he had not come to claim his inheritance within the year and a day after the receipt thereof he had forfeited his rights thereto which then passed to her. The barons could not deny that the laws required that Conrad should come to Syria to claim his throne, but they refused to accept Alice's claims and instead sent an embassy to Frederick, consisting of John de Bailleul and Geoffrey le Tor, to request that Conrad come to Acre as soon as possible. The embassy left Acre towards the end of 1229 and reached Frederick at Foggia in May, 1230, but beyond vague promises on the part of the emperor that Conrad should be sent as soon as was possible nothing was gained. Meanwhile the imperial baillies continued to rule in the kingdom and on the whole the wisdom of their administration increased the popularity of the imperial government.

But if the imperial baillies were ruling wisely and popularly in Syria, quite otherwise was the rule of the five barons who had secured the bailliage of Cyprus from the emperor. In their desire to raise the funds necessary to pay for their bailliage, they imposed heavy taxes on all the country and espe-

¹ That the confiscation of the goods of the Templars and Hospitallers took place before August, 1229, is evidenced by the fact that at that time it was given as one of the grievances of the pope against the emperor (*MGH. Epis. I*, 318-20). When the Templars assisted Frederick's enemies in Syria, further confiscations were made in the summer of 1231 (Ryccardus, p. 364). The pope wrote repeatedly throughout January to August, 1231, demanding that Frederick restore to the Orders the possessions which he had taken from them (*MGH. Epis. I*, Nos. 425, 428, 439, 442, 450).

cially despoiled the estates of the Ibelins and their friends whom they hoped to exclude permanently from Cyprus. But in June, 1229, John of Beirut returned from Syria to Cyprus and raised the country against the baillies. In a battle near Nicosia, fought July 14, Ibelin and his adherents defeated Barlais and his colleagues and drove them into refuge in the northern castles of Dieudamor, Kantara, and Cerines. After quickly reducing Kantara and Cerines, the Ibelin forces sat down to besiege the baillies in Dieudamor, and from July, 1229, until after Easter, 1230, the lord of Beirut and his sons held the baillies besieged there. Finally they surrendered and, giving up the person of King Henry and the castles, relinquished all claims to the bailliage. It is this war which is told in such detail by Philip de Novare and which he parodied in his *branche* of the Renard.

In Italy meanwhile Frederick had so successfully pursued his campaign against the papal armies that the Holy See was ready for peace, and the conflict was brought to an end in July, 1230, by the peace of San Germano. The Italian problems were smoothed out and Frederick was again received into the Church as the "dearest son in Christ" of the aged pope. The ban of excommunication was removed and the patriarch of Jerusalem was ordered to withdraw the interdict and to accept the Treaty of Jaffa.² While this withdrawal of papal support greatly weakened the anti-imperial party in Syria it did not break their resistance, and the patriarch, the Templars, and the Ibelins continued actively to oppose the imperial baillies. In February, 1231, the pope wrote the Templars demanding their submission, as the emperor had complained of them that they had resisted the orders of his bailli and provoked war contrary to the terms of the truce with

² The terms of the Treaty of San Germano and the subsequent Treaty of Ceperano in August are to be found in H-B. III, 207-21. Late that August (*Annales de Terre Sainte*, p. 439) or early the next year (Alberic de Trois Fontaines, p. 925) Patriarch Gerold, with the patriarch of Aquilia and fourteen bishops, solemnly reoccupied the church of the Holy Sepulchre and the holy places of Jerusalem.

Egypt.³ The emperor meanwhile prepared an expedition to be sent to Syria to establish firmly his rule over the country and suppress the rebellion, and ordered his baillies to confiscate the lands of the leaders — John of Beirut, his nephews the lords of Jaffa and Caesarea, and the lord of Tiberias.⁴

The army which the emperor sent to Syria was placed under the command of Richard Filanger, the imperial marshal, and was sent out in two sections, the first of which, eighteen ships under the bishop of Melfi, arrived at Cape Gavata near Limassol in September, 1231. King Henry was at Kiti (Chiti near Larnaca) with the lord of Beirut, and to him there came the bishop of Melfi, John de Bailleul, the former envoy of the high court to Frederick, and Aymon l'Aleman, the nephew of the bailli Garnier l'Aleman. In the name of the emperor they demanded of King Henry that he banish from his kingdom John d'Ibelin and all his relatives. To this the king replied through the mouth of William Viscount that he could not banish Ibelin as he was his liegeman and so deserving of his protection, and that as for his relatives, since he, King Henry, was a nephew of Ibelin, he could not banish all the relatives of the house of Ibelin from his domains. With this refusal the imperial envoys departed, and, as they were unable to land their fleet in Cyprus, owing to the large force which the lord of Beirut had massed against them at Limassol, they sailed on to Beirut where they captured the town and laid seige to the castle. When Filanger arrived with the remaining fifteen vessels of the fleet, he went straight to Beirut, the castle of which he strongly invested. Then leaving part of his forces under his brother Lothaire at the siege of Beirut castle, he went to Tyre, which was surrendered to him. Leaving another brother, Henry, in command there, he proceeded to Acre,

³ *MGH. Epis.* I, 345-46.

⁴ John d'Ibelin of Jaffa tells this incident without giving the date (*Assises*, I, 325). He specifically says that Balian of Sidon did the confiscating, so that it must have been before the arrival of Filanger. As John of Caesarea only came into his inheritance with the death of his father at the battle of Nicosia in July, 1229, the confiscation must have been between July, 1229, and November, 1231.

where he summoned the high court and presented his credentials from the emperor appointing him bailli over the kingdom of Jerusalem.⁵

Filanger's credentials were accepted without question by the barons of the high court and the marshal began his rule in Jerusalem by turning to the subject of the surrender of Beirut. It was an unfortunate move, for the seizure of Beirut was in direct violation of a most cherished rule of the law of Jerusalem that a vassal's fief could not be declared forfeit by the will of the lord but only by the action of the high court. When it was apparent to the barons that Filanger had no intention of submitting the case to them they at once realized the menace to their liberties that the rule of such a bailli would be. Balian of Sidon himself, the former imperial bailli and the leader of the imperial party in Syria, was the spokesman of the barons in demanding that the marshal submit the case to the decision of the court and abide by the laws of the country. Filanger demanded time to consult with the other leaders of his party who were at Beirut and returned to the siege. A delegation was sent to him there, as he had asked, to receive his answer to the demands of the barons, but the marshal refused to yield any point, claiming that he was but obeying the orders of the emperor and suggesting that if they wished to appeal the case they should send representatives to the emperor himself, and he in his mercy would surely give them justice. It was probably to carry this appeal that Balian of Sidon, Eudes de Montbéliard, and Garnier l'Aleman in the winter of 1231 went to Italy, where they were all present

⁵ Pope Gregory in a letter to Frederick on August 12, 1231 (*MGH. Epis. I*, 363-64; *H-B. III*, 297-99), specifically stated that Filanger was Frederick's personal bailli and not an imperial bailli, as Jerusalem was Frederick's personal kingdom and not a dependency of the Empire. It is in this letter that Gregory formally bestows on Frederick the title of king of Jerusalem as he points out himself in the letter. Actually he had used it in a letter of March, 1227 (*MGH. Epis. I*, 261-62), but he says in the letter of 1231 that it is the first formal recognition of Frederick as king of Jerusalem. The reason was that John de Brienne had accepted the crown of Constantinople and no longer contested the title of Jerusalem with Frederick.

in December witnessing a charter of Frederick at Ravenna.⁶

Meanwhile John d'Ibelin had been raising forces for the relief of his beleaguered castle and had secured the assistance of the king of Cyprus. This altered somewhat the character of the war, for the entrance of the kingdom of Cyprus changed what had been a baronial revolt into a semi-national struggle. The barons and citizens of Acre, deprived of the restraining influence of Balian and Eudes, organized themselves into a sworn commune, of which they offered the mayoralty to John d'Ibelin, pledging themselves to his support. In December, 1231, Ibelin and the Cypriot host assembled at Famagusta and in the following spring crossed to the mainland to relieve Beirut. Landing at Puy du Constable in Tripoli the host marched southward, Barlais and his adherents deserting to the imperial side and hastening to strengthen the forces in Beirut which were besieging the castle. Ibelin and King Henry advanced on Beirut and took up a position outside the city, whence they sent help to those within the castle. When Ibelin was satisfied that the castle was well reinforced and in no immediate danger of capitulation, he divided his forces, sending a part under his eldest son Balian to Tripoli in a vain attempt to win over the prince of Antioch-Tripoli to their side, while he went himself to Acre with the rest of the army. There in April, 1231, he received the oath of the commune and seized the imperial fleet which lay in the harbor. Filanger meanwhile sought to cause a diversion by sending Barlais and some of his men to Cyprus, where they overran the country which Ibelin had left unprotected and possessed themselves of the castles of the island, only Dieudamor and Buffavento holding out against them. To retaliate for this Ibelin planned an attack on the imperialist base at Tyre, and Filanger was forced to withdraw his forces from the siege of Beirut to fortify that city. The Cypriots moved north from

⁶ H-B. IV, 278-79; Strehlke, *Tabulae ordinis Theutonici*, No. 76, pp. 60-61; *Regesta*, No. 1034. This grant is also witnessed by Zacharias (Achery), the seneschal of Antioch. I am assuming that the Werner Theutonicus of the document is Garnier l'Aleman.

Acre as far as Casal Imbert when a delay was caused by the patriarch of Antioch, who lured Ibelin back to Acre with promises of a peace which he claimed he was empowered to negotiate. While their leader was away in Acre, the Cypriots allowed their camp to fall into confusion and were caught off their guard by a surprise attack launched from Tyre on the night of May 3-4. The Cypriot host was badly routed, King Henry escaping in panic and most of the knights being driven throughout the countryside. Filanger, encouraged by the success of this battle, at once dispatched the main body of his troops to Cyprus to accomplish the complete reduction of the island.

When Ibelin heard of the disastrous battle, he hastened to Casal Imbert, where he collected his scattered troops and made a "strategic retreat" to Acre. There, having concluded an alliance with the Genoese who provided them with ships and having gained further supplies, Ibelin and the Cypriots armed for a counter invasion of Cyprus and crossed over to Famagusta at the end of May. Taking Famagusta by a surprise attack, the Cypriots hastened towards Nicosia in search of the enemy, who were engaged in the siege of Dieudamor. There on June 15 at Agridi the Cypriots avenged themselves for the defeat of Casal Imbert and, routing the imperialists, forced them into Cerines. The Ibelins' reconquest of the island was the matter of a few days and the Cypriot populace welcomed them as deliverers, though the imperialists were not without some sympathizers in the island. Leaving Philip Chenart and Walter d'Acquaviva in command in Cerines, which was closely besieged by the Cypriots, Filanger sought help in Armenia, Antioch, and Tripoli. Unsuccessful in securing reinforcements and fearing lest too large a garrison in Cerines would consume the supplies of the city and hasten its fall, Filanger withdrew with Barlais, de Bethsan, and de Gibelet, and, after stopping at Tyre to see to his garrison there, went to Apulia to seek help from the emperor. The Cypriots meanwhile pressed the siege of Cerines, which, de-

spairing of any relief, capitulated on honorable terms in the spring of 1233. This relief of Beirut and reconquest of Cyprus form the second main series of events in the history of Philip de Novare.

While Filanger was endeavoring, not too successfully, to enforce by arms the control of the emperor in Syria and Cyprus, the pope was attempting to remove at least one cause of dissension. Patriarch Gerold of Jerusalem had never ceased to oppose the ambitions of the emperor, and, though he had not in any overt act resisted the emperor's bailli, he had lent moral support to the Ibelin faction. Frederick seriously protested against this, and Gregory, who was still most anxious to preserve peace and amity with the emperor, wrote to Gerold demanding that he render the emperor the obedience which was his due and cease to assist those who rebelled against him.⁷ But the patriarch failed to comply and the emperor failed to be satisfied, whereupon in July the pope again wrote to Gerold ordering him to come at once to Rome, bringing with him representatives of the Temple and Hospital, that they might settle the questions disturbing the peace of Jerusalem.⁸ When Gerold seemed hesitant about coming, Gregory wrote again, on July 26, depriving him of his office of papal legate unless he should come to Rome by the next passage. The legatine office in Syria was confirmed to Patriarch Albert of Antioch, a partisan of Frederick, who was instructed to take counsel with the masters of the Orders that peace might be restored and the rebels brought back to their obedience.⁹

Albert, who as we have seen had already been working for the restoration of peace before the battle of Casal Imbert, was, however, apparently unable to bring about any solution

⁷ Letter of June 17, 1232: *MGH. Epis.* I, 376-77.

⁸ *MGH. Epis.* I, 376-77, 383. A letter of July 12 (*ibid.*, 378-79) asks Frederick to assist the patriarch in his journey as he is coming by papal command.

⁹ Letters to Gerold, Albert, the masters, and the clergy: *MGH. Epis.* I, 383-85. Gerold and Albert had had trouble previously over the limits of their respective legateships; Albert was as ardent a supporter of the emperor as Gerold was an opponent. Gregory, in September, 1236, stated that the action against Gerold had been at Frederick's request and he had done it to please the emperor (*MGH. Epis.* I, 600; and see Jacobs, *Patriarch Gerold*, pp. 53-56).

of the problem at the moment, and Frederick himself took action in the matter. Thinking to conciliate the Syrian barons by making concessions to them in the matter of the bailli, he sent letters by the hand of the bishop of Sidon authorizing the appointment of a new bailli at Acre and nominating for the position one Philip de Maugastel, an intimate of Filanger's, who was himself suspect among the barons and who was wholly unacceptable to many of them. Though Balian of Sidon and Eudes de Montbéliard favored the acceptance of this proposal and endeavored to secure the acceptance of Maugastel by the high court of Acre, the opposition was too strong, and, led by the young lord of Caesarea, the Ibelin supporters and the people of Acre started a riot which broke up the assembly of the court and caused the bishop of Sidon and the two former baillies to flee for safety. The emperor's attempt at conciliation had met with a severe rebuff and the Ibelin party gained a victory of a sort when the high court declared that Balian of Sidon and Eudes de Montbéliard were the only true baillies for King Conrad. The theory behind this was that they had been elected by the court on the death of Queen Isabelle and further that they had been appointed by Frederick in person in the high court and that what had been done in the court could only be undone there; no appointment by letter was valid and the old appointment still held until Conrad should come himself to appoint other baillies. This action was invaluable to the Ibelins in that it cut Balian and Eudes off from Filanger and the imperialists in Tyre and tied their interests up in part with those of the rebellious Cypriots. John d'Ibelin was confirmed in his office of mayor of the commune of Acre.

With their garrisons driven entirely out of Cyprus, with Acre in open rebellion and organized into a revolutionary commune, with the moderates who had originally upheld the imperial cause estranged from the imperial garrison and swaying towards the rebel party, with the emperor's compromise rejected, and with their material supplies running low, the

position of the imperialists in Syria was a sad one at the end of 1233. The garrison of Tyre was still loyal and the emperor's governors still ruled in Jerusalem itself and in Ascalon, but if the imperial power was not to be entirely driven out of Syria, it was necessary that some peace be made very soon.

D. *The Struggle with Tyre, 1234-1243.* — Though the prospects of the imperialists were at their lowest ebb in the beginning of 1234, all was not yet lost could a permanent peace be negotiated. Albert of Antioch and Herman von Salza, who had been sent back to Syria to assist the legate in securing peace, had been diligently working out a treaty acceptable to the moderate party, which, still loyal to King Conrad though hostile to Filanger, included the majority of the barons of the high court. As a result, early in 1234, a peace was tentatively drawn up between Eudes de Montbéliard, the barons and citizens of Acre on the one part, and von Salza and the legate on the other, and was sent to the pope and emperor for ratification. Gregory approved it March 22, 1234, and the following August, Frederick, together with the pope, sent Archbishop Thierry of Ravenna as a special legate to ratify the peace in Syria.¹ At the same time the pope sent a stern letter to John d'Ibelin ordering him to stop his rebellion against the emperor and demanding that he make peace at once.² But Ibelin was not to be defeated by a mere papal command. In this as in other respects there is a marked resemblance between Ibelin and St. Louis of France, for while both were personally deeply religious neither permitted the Church to dictate to him against the mandates of his own conscience and better judgment.

In consequence the year dragged out without the rebellious party's accepting the peace; in July, 1235, Pope Gregory was again writing Ibelin demanding that he submit. Ibelin had, said the pope, seduced the men of Acre from their true obedience

¹ Ratification by Gregory: *MGH. Epis.* I, 471. Letter of Frederick appointing Thierry his legate: H-B. IV, 479-81; letters of Gregory appointing Thierry: H-B, IV, 481-83, *MGH. Epis.* I, 481-83. The letters are sent to Thierry himself, the prelates and people of Acre and Jerusalem, the masters of the Orders, etc.

² *MGH. Epis.* I, 480-81; H-B. IV, 943-44; Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, III, 640.

to the emperor and was planning even greater treason by attacking Tyre. This he must not do but he must submit to the emperor and make peace respecting Frederick's rights. At the same time letters were sent to the citizens of Acre ordering them not to follow Ibelin in his treason, and to the Hospitallers asking them to assist Filanger against Ibelin and the rebels who were planning to attack Tyre.³ But Gregory was not willing to take too drastic measures against Acre, and when Archbishop Thierry placed the city under the interdict in an effort to enforce obedience, the pope removed the interdict on the grounds that, surrounded as they were by many unorthodox creeds, the men of Acre might be lost forever to the Roman Church should they be thus cut off from the communion thereof.⁴ This fear that the Latin Christians of Outremer might find a new allegiance in one of the more complacent and less centralized eastern cults tempered always the pope's harshness towards the errors of the Levantine Catholics. Gregory himself, meanwhile, drafted a set of resolutions which he thought suitable as the basis for a lasting peace: Frederick and Conrad were to be recognized as the legitimate rulers of Jerusalem and were to have all the powers which they possessed before the war began, including the right to appoint officials, control castles, levy tariff duties, etc.; they were to obey the ancient laws and customs of the kingdom; the commune of Acre was to be dissolved, its bell tower destroyed and its syndics and consuls, who had been elected after the beginning of the rebellion, were to be dismissed; Richard Filanger should be restored to the office of bailli until the first of the next March, at which time another bailli should be appointed, as Filanger was not unjustly suspected by the people of Acre. At the same time a peace should be concluded with King Henry of Cyprus and the pope undertook to secure the adherence of Cyprus to the proposed terms.⁵ This program met

³ *MGH. Epist.* I, 548-49; H-B. IV, 736-38; Delaville Le Roulx, *Cartulaire*, II, Doc. 2118.

⁴ *MGH. Epist.* I, 599, 553-56; H-B. IV, 772-76.

⁵ *MGH. Epist.* I, 553-56.

with some opposition from the representatives of the emperor, Piero della Vigna and the bishop elect of Patti,⁶ but Gregory continued working on the attempted peace with this program as his basis. The high court of Acre, at the suggestion of von Salza, sent two envoys, Henry de Nazareth and Philip de Troyes, both knights of Acre, to the papacy with instructions to conclude a treaty; and in February, 1236, the pope was able to write Frederick that peace had at last been established on the general lines of his proposals. Certain emendations had been made to the original plan whereby Filanger was continued in his office of bailli until September 1, but in the interim some Syrian liegeman of the emperor's, selected by Eudes de Montbéliard, should be appointed to perform the duties and functions of the bailli until the expiration of Filanger's term. In September the bailliage should be resigned by Filanger and should be conferred upon Bohemond of Antioch, who would hold all the royal rights except the control of the citadel of Tyre, which was to be placed in the guard of the Teutonic Knights; if Bohemond should refuse the honor it should be offered to de Montbéliard, and should he too refuse some other liegeman should be appointed. All the rebels were to be fully forgiven and pardoned with the exception of the Ibelins: John of Beirut, his sons, and his nephews, John of Jaffa and John of Caesarea. These were to be pardoned and granted immunity within the kingdom of Jerusalem but were not to be assured their safety elsewhere; if any charges were brought against them they were to be settled in the high court of Jerusalem.⁷

But the pope had reckoned without the Syrian barons, and when the terms of this peace were reported to the high court

⁶ *MGH. Epis.* I, 556-57.

⁷ Letter of Gregory to Frederick: *MGH. Epis.* I, 571-73. Similar letters were sent to the Hospitallers, de Montbéliard, the Teutons, the citizens of Acre, and John of Caesarea. Letters to Henry, archbishop of Nazareth, and Ralph, bishop of Acre (*Ibid.*, 573), ordered the revocation of all excommunications and interdicts imposed as a result of the rebellion. A letter to the Teutonic Knights ordered them to surrender the city of Tyre to Bohemond when he became bailli, but to keep possession of the citadel thereof (*Ibid.*, 570-71).

at Acre by the envoys who had been sent to negotiate the treaty, the barons of the court were so indignant that they scarcely failed to do violence to the unfortunate emissaries whom they accused of treason and of having acted contrary to their instructions. The treaty was wholly rejected and the court of Acre agreed to send a common ambassador jointly with the king of Cyprus to the pope to explain their objections to the peace. Geoffrey le Tor, the knight selected for this delicate mission, arrived in Genoa in the spring of 1237 and found the pope at Viterbo, where he presented the letters from the king of Cyprus and the high court of Acre of which he was the bearer. He found the pope most willing to receive him and to listen to his complaints as trouble had broken out anew between the pope and the emperor, and Gregory was no longer anxious to conciliate Frederick and strengthen his position. As a result Gregory gladly released the protesting barons from the treaty and promised them the support of the Church in the defense of their liberties.

It was while these negotiations were in progress that the barons lost the leader who had guided them so wisely throughout in their opposition to the emperor and his bailli. John d'Ibelin, the old lord of Beirut, died in 1236, and the spirit of the party which he had founded in good part seems to have died with him. Frederick was far too concerned in the West to attempt seriously to recapture his authority in Syria and the successors of the lord of Beirut were content to maintain a truce with the imperial bailli in Tyre from 1237 until 1241. The failure of the papal peace plan had of course left matters exactly as they had been before the scheme was suggested, and Filanger continued as the bailli and ruled in Tyre. In addition, however, Eudes de Montbéliard governed in Acre as bailli for Conrad, supported by the high court. Neither bailli recognized the other and both claimed to be the one true bailli for Conrad, Eudes acting under the authority of his ancient appointment in the high court, Filanger under his appointment by Frederick, who was himself the bailli for Conrad. As de

Montbéliard attempted no action against the Ibelins, the government of Acre was accepted by the old baronial rebels.

The chief events of importance in the history of Syria in this period were the crusades of Thibaut of Champagne and Richard of Cornwall. Frederick requested the crusaders to delay their attack until the expiration of his truce with Egypt and offered to lead them himself if they would wait for him. The pope objected to the delay involved and the crusaders departed without the support of the emperor, though he did generously afford them considerable food supplies. Damascus and Egypt were once again at war and Palestine was suffering from the conflict between the two greater powers. The city of Jerusalem was temporarily occupied by the Moslems, and the Christian garrison was forced to flee; the Templars were negotiating an alliance with Damascus, and the Hospitallers with Egypt. The crusaders under Thibaut decided to attack against Egypt and marched south only to be overwhelmingly defeated by the Egyptians at Gaza in November, 1239. Thereafter, under pressure from both of the two great Orders, the confused crusaders accepted both the Templars' alliance with Damascus and the Hospitallers' alliance with Egypt. When Richard of Cornwall arrived, he declared his neutrality and proceeded to fortify Jaffa and Ascalon, which he turned over to Walter Pennenpie, Frederick's governor in Jerusalem. Then he renewed the treaty with Egypt and withdrew. The crusade was practically without result, though Count Richard, who was a close friend of the emperor, did increase the imperial prestige and position in the East. Frederick meanwhile continued to send supplies and assistance to Filanger in Tyre and to maintain his authority there.⁸ In 1241, through the intermediacy of Count Richard, an act of submission was secured from Balian d'Ibelin of Beirut, Philip de Montfort of Toron, John d'Ibelin of Arsur, and Geoffrey d'Estraining of Caïphas, the leaders of the old Ibelin faction, in which they

⁸ H-B. V, 693-94, 739-40, 848-50, are letters of the emperor in January-March, 1240, concerning the sending of supplies to Filanger at Tyre.

agreed to submit to Frederick's rule if he would appoint Earl Simon de Montfort of Leicester as his bailli in the kingdom until King Conrad should come of age and should come to receive his kingdom. It is interesting to speculate what might have been the effect on both the histories of Jerusalem and England had the emperor made this appointment.⁹

The next act in the struggle between the emperor and the barons centered in Filanger's futile attempt to gain control of Acre, which inspired the Ibelins to start reprisals against Tyre. Their plans were encouraged by Marsiglio Georgio, the newly appointed Venetian bailli, who was anxious to get back certain possessions of his countrymen in Tyre which had been sequestered by the imperial bailli there. Balian of Beirut and Philip de Montfort were laying their plans for the advance against Tyre, which would have renewed the rebellion against the emperor, when Philip de Novare suggested to them his plan whereby they could legally gain possession of Tyre without rebelling against their legal ruler. On April 25, 1243, King Conrad would be of age and Frederick's regency for his son would automatically be terminated; with the end of Frederick's regency ended Filanger's patent of authority. Consequently if the barons would but wait until after April 25 Filanger would have no legal position in Tyre and the barons could drive him out with perfect legality and impunity. This advice seemed good to the leaders of the party and was accepted by them. That their position should be the more sure, Alice of Cyprus, who had claimed the throne in 1229 as the nearest heir present in the country, was brought out again and suggested as the bailli. Her claims this time were not for the throne itself but for the bailliage until Conrad should come himself to claim and enter into possession of his kingdom. Philip de Novare presented Alice's claims to the high court and they were accepted. Her first act as bailli was to demand the surrender to her of the city and castle of Tyre, which of course was refused by the imperialist garrison there, then com-

⁹ *Archives de l'Orient latin*, I, 402-3.

manded by Lothaire Filanger in the absence of his brother Richard who had sailed for the West to confer with the emperor. After completing secret negotiations for the surrender of the city with certain citizens thereof, the baronial forces marched against Tyre, which they took by assault. Lothaire Filanger and the garrison retreated into the citadel and were there besieged by the victorious Ibelins and their partisans. The opportune return of Richard Filanger, who, all unconscious of the events which had occurred, sailed innocently into Tyre harbor and was captured by the members of the baronial party, enabled the barons to secure the capitulation of the citadel as the price of the life of the marshal. Philip de Novare secured the surrender of the castle and the release of the captives. With the fall of Tyre the baronial party was entirely triumphant in northern Palestine and the rule of the emperor was practically at an end.

E. *Epilogue, 1243-1247.* — It is with the fall of Tyre that Philip de Novare ends his history, as with the removal of the imperial garrison from that city the imperial-Ibelin struggle was ended. Frederick's garrisons continued to hold Jerusalem and Ascalon in the south for another year, but in 1244 the city of Jerusalem was taken by the Khwarezmian Turks, and Thomas of Acerra, the new imperial bailli whom Frederick sent out in 1242 to replace Filanger, turned Ascalon over to the Hospitallers to guard.¹ Richard Filanger was recalled to Italy immediately after the fall of Tyre and was disgraced and imprisoned for his failure; his brother Lothaire escaped the imperial vengeance by flight to Antioch. In 1247 Pope Innocent IV absolved King Henry of Cyprus of his oath to the emperor and took him and his kingdom under the protection of the Holy See.² Nor could Acerra, the new bailli, maintain himself in Syria for long, and by 1248 he too had fled to Antioch-Tripoli whence the pope was demanding his expulsion.³ Alice of Cyprus continued to rule as lady of Jerusalem

¹ Delaville Le Roulx, *Cartulaire*, II, doc. 2301; *Regesta*, No. 1112.

² Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 63; H-B. VI, 506-7.

³ Delaville Le Roulx, *Cartulaire*, II, Doc. 2470.

until her death in 1246, when her son Henry I of Cyprus succeeded her. He was, however, unable to assume the royal title in Jerusalem, for King Conrad was still legally king and the Cypriot monarch was only lord of Jerusalem until King Conrad should come to claim his kingdom. It was not until the extermination of the house of Hohenstaufen with the death of Conradin in 1268 that the king of Cyprus, then Hugh III, was able to add the title of Jerusalem to that of Cyprus, designating himself "twelfth Latin king of Jerusalem and king of Cyprus."

The history of the kingdom of Jerusalem from 1247, at which time the imperial rule may be said to have completely ended, until the final loss of the kingdom to the Egyptians was a sufficiently stormy one. Temple opposed Hospital; Venetian fought Genoese; Charles of Anjou set up claims to the throne in opposition to those of the Lusignans; the Egyptians and the Mongols fought for possession of Syria, involving the Latin states in their struggle; and amidst this confusion and turmoil the kingdom slowly disintegrated, city after city falling into the hands of the Moslems. Only in the last desperate days in Acre in 1291 did the various factions within the kingdom forget their mutual animosities and hatreds and unite in a vain, if heroic, attempt to save the remnants of the kingdom. And it was then too late.

But if the kingdom for which the Ibelins and their allies fought so stubbornly in the thirties and forties was lost before the end of the century, the institutions which they fought to preserve continued in Cyprus for two centuries more, and the rights of the individual and the limitation of the crown were the cornerstones of the Cypriot constitution as long as the Lusignan dynasty lasted. Further, the Palestinian barons had the grim satisfaction of knowing that the fate of their ancient enemy was even worse than their own. For Frederick ended his life amidst the troubles of civil war and under the ban of the papal anathema. His proud kingdom of Sicily was conquered by the French Charles of Anjou, and the German Em-

pire became the prey of rivalries no less weakening than those which rent Jerusalem. The mighty edifice reared by the Hohenstaufens crumbled and fell even before the little kingdom on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean.

The epilogue is a sorry one and the reader today cannot but be glad that Sir Philip de Novare did not live to see the evil times into which his country had fallen. His *History* ends with a note of triumph, as in a true romance the heroes are all rewarded and the villains humbled and punished. Philip wrote the history of a glorious and victorious war, of the triumph of law, virtue, and piety over treachery, guile, and despotism. It would have been sad had the old man seen the pitiful end of all their efforts, had he been forced to realize that the long struggle which they carried on in the name of liberty only weakened their state and caused it to fall the more readily, the victim of its own internal dissensions and rivalries. The Ibelin victory which Philip lauds may have saved the liberties of the kingdom of Jerusalem but assuredly it contributed to the ultimate loss of the kingdom itself.

THE HISTORY OF THE WAR BETWEEN THE EM-
PEROR FREDERICK AND JOHN D'IBELIN,
LORD OF BEIRUT.

HERE BEGINS THE HISTORY AND THE TRUE ACCOUNT
OF THE WAR WHICH OCCURRED BETWEEN THE
EMPEROR FREDERICK AND SIR JOHN
D'IBELIN, LORD OF BEIRUT

I (97). And in order that it may be the better understood how this war took place, how it began and progressed, and how it came about that part of the Cypriots joined the emperor while the greater part joined the lord of Beirut, Philip de Novare, who took part in all the actions and councils, and who has often been loved by the good for telling the truth and hated by the wicked for the same reason, will tell you the truth of it, as well as of the men and the great deeds.

II (98). It came about, as Our Lord willed, that the good King Hugh of Cyprus,¹ who was exceedingly valiant, went on a pilgrimage to Tortosa,² and then to Tripoli,³ where he fell ill and passed from this world, in the year 1218 on the tenth day of January, and was buried in the Hospital of St. John.⁴ Queen Alice, his wife,⁵ was still quite young, and had by him

¹ Hugh I de Lusignan, king of Cyprus, 1205-18, was the son of Amaury de Lusignan, king of Cyprus, and Eschive d'Ibelin. The *Eracles*, p. 360, gives a description of his person and character; he was considered an able king, though he was only 23 years old when he died, the early years of his reign having been passed under the regency of Walter de Montbeliard, the husband of his sister Borgogne. He is chiefly important in history as having taken part in the Fifth Crusade.

² The shrine of Our Lady of Tortosa was one of the most popular in all Syria and was the goal of many pilgrimages. Tortosa was in the county of Tripoli, but since about 1170 had belonged to the Knights Templar. Their church, a lovely Gothic building, is still one of the finest of the crusading remains in Syria.

³ King Hugh returned by way of Tripoli from Acre, where he had gone, with Andrew of Hungary and John de Brienne, to the crusade.

⁴ The body was later removed to the Hospital at Nicosia where it was permanently interred.

⁵ Alice of Champagne, queen of Cyprus, was the daughter of Henry of Champagne and Isabelle Plantagenet of Jerusalem. Isabelle married successively Humphrey de Toron, Conrad de Montferrat, Henry of Champagne, and Amaury de Lusignan. Marie of Jerusalem was her daughter by Conrad, Alice by Henry. Dispensation was secured to permit the marriage of Alice to Hugh, who was the son of her mother's fourth husband.

three children, one son and two daughters.¹ The son was only nine months old² and was named Henry, and was called King Henry Gras.³ The said Queen Alice was niece⁴ of my Lord John, lord of Beirut,⁵ and of Sir Philip d'Ibelin his brother.⁶

III. All the liegemen of the king did homage to the said queen as bailli, and all the liegemen prayed and requested Sir Philip d'Ibelin that he should be bailli of Cyprus to govern the land, hold the court and command over the men.⁷ King

¹ The daughters were Marie, who married Walter IV of Brienne, and Isabelle, who married Henry of Antioch, younger son of Bohemond IV.

² The *Gestes* read "two months"; Kohler corrects.

³ Henry I of Cyprus, 1218-53.

⁴ Isabelle of Jerusalem, Alice's mother, was half-sister of John and Philip d'Ibelin, as their mother, Marie of Byzantium, had married first Amaury I of Jerusalem and after his death Balian d'Ibelin.

⁵ John d'Ibelin, lord of Beirut, son of Balian d'Ibelin of Nablus and Marie of Byzantium, is the hero of Philip de Novare's history. John was made constable of Jerusalem by Henry of Champagne and held that title from 1194 till 1200, when he exchanged the constablership for the fief of Beirut. He married Helvis of Nefin, by whom he had sons who died young, and, after her death, Melissande of Arsur, by whom he had the five sons referred to in Philip's history. "The old lord of Beirut" was one of the leading jurists of Outremer and was one of Novare's teachers. During the minority of Marie of Jerusalem, John of Beirut was bailli of Jerusalem 1206-10.

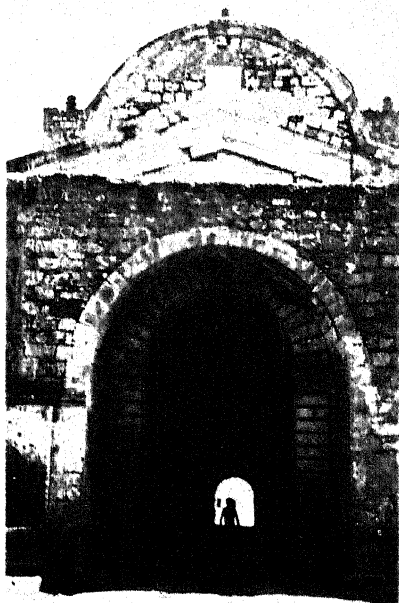
⁶ Philip d'Ibelin, brother of John of Beirut, was lord of Peristerona in the Messorea district, of Cyprus (Mas Latrie, III, 608-9). He married Alice de Montbéliard, sister of Walter de Montbéliard, the bailli during the minority of Hugh I; their son was John d'Ibelin of Jaffa, the author of the great *Livre des assises de la haute cour*. Philip possessed a palace in Limassol which was occupied by Frederick II when he stopped in Cyprus. His chief importance in history is that he was bailli of Cyprus during the minority of Henry I.

⁷ The *Eracles* (pp. 360-61) gives a somewhat different account of this episode: "When she [Alice] had received the homages, she put in her place for the control of the realm her uncle, the brother of her mother, who was named Philip d'Ibelin, and she had her men swear that they would obey him until the majority of her son Henry, wherein she did foolishly; for when she wished to repent thereof she was not able, as you shall hear."

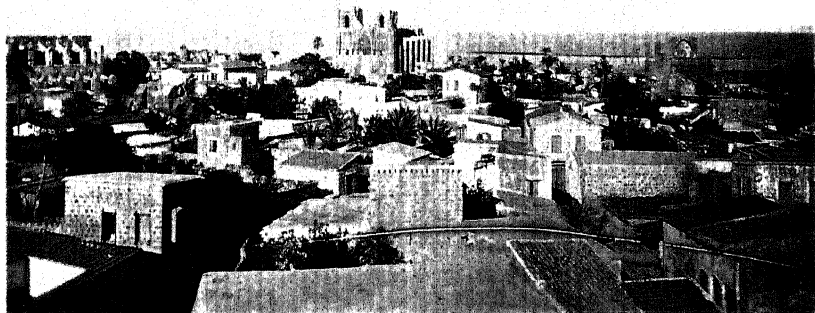
According to the laws of Jerusalem and Cyprus the bailliage for a minor heir could go to the surviving parent, through whom the realm did not escheat (*Assises de Jérusalem*, I, 609-10). The high court always retained the right to arrange the bailliage as seemed best to it, and in this case it departed from the general rule in giving Alice both the custody of the heir and the revenues of the kingdom, for the accepted custom was that the person of the heir should not be entrusted to the same individual as was the bailliage of the state. Ordinarily the bailli was given the control of the government and the enjoyment of the revenues, though a strict accounting was demanded when the bailli surrendered his office. Alice in this case was given the bailliage with the revenues and custody of the heir, but Ibelin was appointed as bailli of the bailli to admin-



PISKOPI: RUINS OF THE IBELIN
CASTLE



NICOSIA: THE FAMAGUSTA
GATE



FAMAGUSTA: VIEW OF THE WALLS

Hugh himself had prayed and commanded this at his death. Sir Philip received the bailliage and had from it much work and grief, while the queen held the revenues, which she spent freely.¹ Sir Philip d'Ibelin governed the land well and in peace with much of good and honor and loyalty and largess; and my lord of Beirut, who was exceeding powerful in Syria, in every need gave good counsel and great aid to the affairs of Cyprus.

IV (110). As soon as the young Henry, son of the aforementioned King Hugh of Cyprus, was somewhat older,² his uncles and his other vassals crowned him with a great celebration. Archbishop Eustorgue of Nicosia³ did that which was suitable for the Church to do at his coronation.⁴ The emperor Frederick was very angry at these two things when he learned of them, that is to say of the bailliage and the coronation, because King Henry should have been his vassal.⁵ He said

ister the realm. Whether Philip's appointment was by the court itself, or by Alice as bailli, the oath taken to Ibelin until Henry should come of age could not be revoked by the order of Alice and required the action of the court (see La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, pp. 49-54).

¹ Amadi (p. 118) says that Alice, with the consent of the barons, gave the tithe of all the revenues of Cyprus to the Church.

² The *Eracles* (p. 367) says that in 1228 when Henry was eleven years old he had been crowned for three years. That would make him crowned at the age of eight, in 1225.

³ Eustorgue de Montaigu, archbishop of Nicosia, 1217-50. He was the brother of Foulque, bishop of Limassol, Peter de Montaigu, master of the Temple, and Guerin de Montaigu, master of the Hospital. Gerard de Montaigu, a Cypriot knight, husband of Eschive de Montbéliard, who was killed at the battle of Nicosia in 1229, was his nephew (see Mas Latrie, "Histoire des archevêques latins de l'île de Chypre," *Archives de l'Orient latin*, II, 214-29; Delaville Le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte*, p. 137; and below, chap. LVII). Eustorgue was one of the greatest archbishops of Nicosia and did much to enrich and strengthen the See of Nicosia.

⁴ The kings of Cyprus were traditionally crowned in the church of Santa Sophia at Nicosia, the metropolitan cathedral of Cyprus. As long as the kingdom of Jerusalem lasted the kings of Jerusalem were crowned at Jerusalem or Tyre; after the fall of the kingdom, when the Cypriot monarchs were also kings of Jerusalem, they were crowned as kings of Cyprus at Nicosia and as kings of Jerusalem at Famagusta in the cathedral church of St. Nicholas. Santa Sophia of Nicosia was also the favorite burying place for the Cypriot kings.

⁵ When Guy de Lusignan had purchased Cyprus from Richard of England he had retained his royal title to Jerusalem. Amaury, his brother, succeeding him in Cyprus, lacked any royal title and so asked the emperor Henry VI to grant him the kingly crown in return for recognition of vassalage to the Empire. The crown was conferred upon Amaury by Bishop Conrad of Hildes-

that the bailliage was his and that he should, by the usage of Germany, have the bailliage of Cyprus until the king was fifteen years of age.¹ And several times the emperor sent to Queen Alice of Cyprus asking that she let him hold the bailliage by grace as much as it would please him;² but by the coronation was he most angered and he said that King Henry should not have received the crown save from him. And throughout he sent always most amiable letters to the two brothers, my lord of Beirut and the bailli Sir Philip, always calling them uncles in his letters because they were that to Queen Isabelle of Syria, who was his wife.³

V (III). At this time there were certain young men in Cyprus. The first was named Sir Amaury Barlais,⁴ the next Sir Amaury de Bethsan,⁵ these two were cousins of one house.

heim, acting for Henry VI, in 1197. There can be no question as to the legal right of the emperor to claim the vassalage of Cyprus, and John d'Ibelin himself was quite willing to recognize Frederick as the suzerain of King Henry. The protest was made when Frederick sent Thomas d'Aquino, count of Acerra, as his bailli to Acre.

¹ The text of the *Gestes* says "xxv ans d'aage"; Kohler corrects from Amadi, p. 118. While the age for majority varied throughout Europe in the thirteenth century, fifteen was more general than twenty-five. Fifteen was the law in Jerusalem and Cyprus. The "usage of Germany" to which Frederick appealed was (according to Guilhiermoz, *Essai sur l'origine de la noblesse*, pp. 393-425, basing his remarks on the *Sachsenspiegel* and *Schwabenspiegel*) that while the heir came of age at twelve, he might be under the care of an *avoué*, who would serve for his fief, until the age of twenty-one.

² The edition in the *RHC*. (p. 672) changes this passage to read: "asking that she should pray that he let her hold the bailliage by grace,"—"Et aucune fois manda l'emperour a la reyne Alis de Chipre qu'ele [li devoit prier qu'il] li laissast tenir le bailliage de grace"—a change not justified by the text, though admittedly a more reasonable reading.

³ The Ibelins were really great-uncles of Isabelle of Jerusalem for they were half-brothers of her maternal grandmother, Queen Isabelle of Jerusalem.

⁴ Amaury Barlais, the villain of Novare's story, was the son of Renaud Barlais, a Poitevin knight who settled in Cyprus, and Isabelle le Roux de Bethsan, heiress of the fiefs of Araïbe and Zekanin in Jerusalem. Isabelle later married Bertrand Porcelet, one of her son's allies. Amaury married, before 1217, Agnes, daughter of Bertrand of Margat. He seems to have enjoyed the confidence of Alice of Cyprus, and to have been one of the more influential members of the high court of Cyprus.

⁵ Amaury de Bethsan, son of Walter de Bethsan and Douce Porcelet, was chamberlain of Cyprus, 1218-20. His father was the uncle of Isabelle de Bethsan, the mother of Amaury Barlais, so that the two Amaurys were second cousins. Amaury de Bethsan went to Apulia after the defeat of the imperialists

The third was named Sir Gauvain,¹ the fourth Sir William de Rivet;² these two were of one house. The fifth was named Sir Hugh de Gibelet;³ he was of another house and was related to the children of my lord of Beirut through their mother. These five came to agreement and conspired against the house of Ibelin. Although they had been in the favor of that house and had received many possessions and much love therefrom, especially from my lord of Beirut more than from any man, yet folly and pride, which often spring from richness and repose, since there are many men who cannot withstand ease, led them to that which they did and said, and always there were reasons. Of these you shall hear hereafter.

VI (112). It happened that my lord of Beirut made his two eldest sons knights in Cyprus.⁴ The one was Sir Balian, who later became constable of Cyprus and lord of Beirut;⁵ the

in Cyprus and became there lord of Tricarico. His sister Alice married Baldwin d'Ibelin.

¹ Gauvain de Chenchi (or de Rossi according to Amadi) was the husband of Ermaline de Soissons. He was half-brother of Philip Chenart, as Novare attests. Little is known of him beyond Novare's account. He appears in charters of Frederick II in 1226 as "Gavianus de Cipro," signing in one under the head of imperial vassals (H-B. II, 536-38). This was while he was in exile from Cyprus.

² William de Rivet was the brother of James de Rivet who married Isabelle de Soissons, the sister of Ermaline de Soissons who married Gauvain de Chenchi. He was thus but distantly related to Gauvain, entirely through marriage. He is not to be confused with William de Rivet the Younger, whom Novare praises as a great pleader in the courts. William the Younger was the son of James and Isabelle. The William under discussion here is only important as one of the five baillies under Frederick II.

³ Hugh de Gibelet was the son of Bertrand de Gibelet and Dolet of Armenia, sister of King Leo I. The *Familles d'Outremer*, which has been my source for most of these genealogical details, is most vague and uncertain on Hugh, but E. G. Rey corrected the material in an article in the *R.O.L.* III (1895), 398-422. Hugh's father Bertrand was the third son of William II and grandson of Hugh I de Gibelet. I am unable to establish the connection, mentioned by Novare, between Hugh de Gibelet and Melissande of Arsur, the wife of John d'Ibelin.

⁴ John of Beirut had five sons, Balian, Baldwin, Hugh, John, and Guy, all of whom appear in Philip de Novare's narrative.

⁵ Balian d'Ibelin, lord of Beirut, 1236-47, constable of Cyprus, 1236-39, bailli of Jerusalem, 1246-47. He married Eschive de Montbéliard, the widow of Gerard de Montaigu, and was excommunicated for marrying within the prohibited degree of relationship. Balian was the immediate overlord of Philip de Novare, and Philip is careful to emphasize his prowess and virtues throughout his narrative.

other was Sir Baldwin, who became seneschal of Cyprus.¹ At this knighting was the greatest celebration and the longest which was ever held this side of the sea to anyone's knowledge. And there was a deal of giving and spending and jousting, and there were reproduced² the adventures of Brittany and of the Table Round, and there were many manner of games.

VII (113). One day, after the knighting, they were playing a game called *barbadaye*.³ And it happened that a Tuscar knight, who was named Toringuel,⁴ and who was of the household of Sir Philip, the bailli, smote Sir Amaury Barlais as one does in this game. And the said Sir Amaury was angered and said that he had done it feloniously and too hard; at which they ceased to play. The next day he waylaid the knight, both he and his forces, and attacked him wickedly so that he was wounded and in peril of death. Sir Philip, the bailli, was much angered and wished to attack him [Sir Amaury]. All those of his allegiance held by Sir Amaury but it amounted to naught against the power of Sir Philip, the bailli. My lord of Beirut, his brother, intervened between them and held them apart by force and ordered his son, Sir Balian, to conduct Sir Amaury Barlais there where he wished to go.

VIII (114). After this it was not long before Sir Amaury Barlais left Cyprus and went to Tripoli, and he remained there all winter. My lord of Beirut went from Cyprus to Beirut and ordered the seeking out of Sir Amaury Barlais at Easter, and he carried him into Cyprus before his brother so suddenly that the latter knew nothing of it. He [my lord of Beirut] said to his brother that he wished him to pardon Sir Amaury in every

¹ Baldwin d'Ibelin, seneschal of Cyprus, 1246-67, married Alice, daughter of Walter de Bethsan. He was taken prisoner at Mansoura, while serving with King Louis of France. He died in 1267, leaving numerous children of whom one was Philip, constable of Cyprus, 1302.

² Amadi (p. 119) says "recited," which seems a good interpretation.

³ A sort of joust.

⁴ The *Gestes* says Tor; Kohler corrects to Toringuel from Novare LXXI and from Bustron. Apart from the part played in the war against the imperialists which Novare recounts, he is entirely unknown.

manner and in every way; saying that if he would not do this he would never speak to him nor see him more, and that he would accept a reconciliation similar to that offered Sir Amaury.¹ The bailli sadly did the will of his brother, and the wounded knight [Sir Toringuel], who did not wish to make peace, went away.² Sir Amaury was possessed of great tact and so was a supporter of each lord, and was a close companion of and showed great love for Sir Balian. In this year [1225] somewhat later, it happened that Queen Alice of Cyprus was angered with her uncles and her other vassals, and, without their will and consent, she went to Tripoli and married Bohemond, son of the prince of Antioch.³ All those of Cyprus, and Sir Amaury Barlais especially, cried out with one voice that if the prince was bailli of Cyprus and held power there it would be the death and destruction of their little lord.

IX (115). After which it was not long before the aforesaid Sir Philip d'Ibelin relinquished the bailliage, in spite of all those of the country; and Queen Alice, who was at Tripoli, sent word that Sir Amaury Barlais should be bailli until she should be able to come to Cyprus. Sir Amaury accepted without any man of Cyprus having agreed,⁴ for indeed they held

¹ "Et que il feroit autel fin come sire Heimery." Philip emphasizes this position of John's in order to make the subsequent actions of Barlais seem the more base and treacherous. Mas Latrie (I, 231) suggests that John was anxious to preserve peace among all the barons of the realm and to prevent any discord during the regency.

² The text says *forpassa* which could mean "passed away"; but that Toringuel did not go very far is known by his reappearance a short time later, still bearing his grudge against Barlais and unwilling ever to make peace with him.

³ Bohemond V, son of Bohemond IV of Antioch, inherited his father's possessions and ruled Antioch-Tripoli, 1233-51. His marriage with Alice was disapproved by Pope Honorius III on grounds of consanguinity, and in 1228 was finally annulled. As the lands of Tripoli were under the interdict at the time of the marriage, the couple went to a small island off the coast to have the ceremony performed. Bohemond married, in 1237, Lucie, daughter of Paul de Segni, great-niece of Pope Innocent III.

⁴ For Amaury to accept the appointment to the bailliage from the queen without asking the consent of the court was a violation of the privilege of the court and of the custom of the constitution. As stated above, the high court was the supreme authority and any action taken in the court could only be

him in great disrepute, and they assembled in the court and Sir Philip d'Ibelin said that he considered it most proud and most arrogant in Sir Amaury that he had been offered and had accepted captaincy over him and over the other good men of Cyprus, moreover that he was not the man who should do this, for it was contrary to that which he himself had said when Queen Alice married the prince. Sir Anceau de Brie rose and said that in all that Sir Amaury Barlais had said and done concerning this he had acted as a traitor, and if he was then present he would say it the more and would prove it.¹

altered there. The barons had sworn in the court to accept Philip as bailli until the king should come of age, and only in the court, and by the action thereof, could any change be made in the bailliage. As the case turned out, Philip was restored to the bailliage, probably by the action of the court, and retained the office until his death, when the court accepted his brother John of Beirut as bailli until the majority of the king.

¹ The *Eracles* (pp. 361-62) gives a more detailed account of the whole episode. "When he [Bohemond] had married her [Alice], she sent messengers to Cyprus and all the liegemen of the kingdom were assembled in the palace of the queen. The messengers said: 'Lords, my lady the queen sends you greetings, as her loyal men and faithful friends, and wishes to inform you that she, as bailli for her son, by her own will and full desire, without any force and without any other reason than that she wished to do it, set and established in her place her uncle Philip d'Ibelin, but that she does not wish that he should remain bailli henceforth. Wherefore she sends you her command, as to her men, that you be not from this day forward under his command, that you do nothing for him, and that you receive in his place Amaury Barlais and be under his command.' When the messengers had said this, Philip d'Ibelin rose and said: 'Lords, you know that you swore to me by the command of the queen that you would obey me and do my commandments until the majority of the child, our legal heir, wherefore I wish to know if you will maintain me as bailli or not.' Then he demanded of each individually what he would say thereto, to which all said that they would hold him as bailli, except one knight named Baldwin de Belême, who said that he would not recognize any other bailli in Cyprus than Queen Alice. The relatives and friends of Philip d'Ibelin fell upon him and he hardly escaped death. Thus Philip d'Ibelin remained in his bailliage and the queen was outside without having recovered it."

This account differs from Novare's in accepting Philip's appointment as having been made by Alice and not by the court; it may be that Novare felt he was making a stronger case for the Ibelins if he left the assumption that the appointment was by the court. I am inclined to believe, however, that Novare's account represents the tradition in the Ibelin house, while that of the *Eracles* gives the version generally accepted in Syria—possibly the version fostered by the Lusignans. At any rate, as stated above, though the appointment may in this case have been made by Alice, it was thoroughly within the competence of the court to have made it, and that it could not be revoked without the sanction of the court is evidenced by either version of the affair.

X. This Sir Anceau de Brie was son of a cousin german of my lord of Beirut and of his brother;¹ he was a young man, strong and hardy, muscular and bony, vigorous and hard, ready to undertake and to accomplish, courteous to friend and to foe, generous with all that he might have, fair and blond, and with a splotched skin and a flat nose, with a ferocious face resembling a leopard.² The two brothers loved him well, and well he deserved it; and know that in this war he justly was the most esteemed after the two brothers and their children and the good young lord of Caesarea who was their nephew.³ When Sir Amaury Barlais had heard repeated that which had been said of him so harshly, he departed from Cyprus and went to Tripoli, where he decided to await the coming of the emperor, which was talked of from day to day; and his intention was that by the aid of the emperor he would be able to subdue the house of Ibelin.

XI (117). It happened, some time before, that Sir Gauvain had a quarrel with a knight who was named Sir William de la Tour. The said William was wounded by night, both he and one of his cousins, and it was said that this had been done by Sir Gauvain and his house. The knight, recovered from his wounds, came to the court before the bailli and accused Sir Gauvain of treason. He [Sir Gauvain] defended himself, and their gages of battle were given and received. The battle was fought and peace was made on the field. The peace was grievous and humiliating to Sir Gauvain and he resented that this knight had accused him and it seemed to him that he [Sir

¹ The relationship is not quite as close as Philip would seem to indicate. Helvis of Rama married Balian d'Ibelin and Manasses de Hierges. Balian, her son by her first marriage was the father of John and Philip d'Ibelin. Helvis, her daughter by Manasses, married Anceau de Brie and was the grandmother of the Anceau de Brie mentioned by Philip de Novare. This Anceau married Ancelle, the widow of Peter Chappe and died without issue.

² Philip's word is *mayrs* which we have translated "splotched skin," Amadi (p. 120) omits this last part of the description and says instead, as better befits a hero, "he had a fine appearance."

³ John of Caesarea, son of Walter of Caesarea and Marguerite d'Ibelin, the sister of John and Philip d'Ibelin. John married Alice, niece of Eustorgue, archbishop of Nicosia.

William] would not have dared to accuse him if he had not had the support of the Ibelins. Even without that incident he [Sir Gauvain] was not in as close relations with them as he had been before, and he had some cause. However because of the great loyalty which he knew to be in them, he [Sir Gauvain] had dared well to enter the field and there to defend himself.

XII. After leaving the field, he [Sir Gauvain] said that he had not understood the agreements of peace while he was in the field and that he would not hold to that which his house had covenanted. Then he went to the Temple and from there to Acre, and from Acre across the sea to the emperor, and he served the emperor a while, and he knew much concerning birds and so was much honored in that court.¹ The emperor was about to depart, for the Church had distrained him to fulfill the covenant to go to Syria which he had made.² He came to the port;³ the galleys had arrived and the passage was all prepared; the emperor delayed his own departure until another passage, as was pleasing to him,⁴ but sent a part of his men and galleys across the sea;⁵ and thus Sir Gauvain returned across the sea to Cyprus.

XIII (122). On this hot news that was cried abroad that the

¹ This is an interesting bit of evidence as to Frederick's love of birds; for a discussion of his knowledge of birds and of his *De arte venandi cum avibus*, see C. H. Haskins, *Medieval Science* (Cambridge, Mass., 1924), pp. 299-326. Gauvain was in Italy in January, 1226, when he witnessed two of Frederick's charters (H-B. II, 536-38).

² Frederick had taken the cross and pledged himself to the crusade on the occasion of his coronation in 1215, and again on the occasion of his marriage to Isabelle de Brienne in 1225.

³ Brindisi.

⁴ This is hardly accurate and fair to the emperor. Frederick had taken sick of the plague which ravaged his camp at Brindisi. He had started out from the port but had been so ill that he was forced to return to land, being advised thereto by all, even Patriarch Gerold of Jerusalem. Pope Gregory IX, thinking that it was merely another attempt to avoid departure, had at once excommunicated him. (See Kantorowicz, *Frederick II*, pp. 168-70, and Röhrich, *Die Kreuzfahrt Kaiser Friedrichs des Zweiten*).

⁵ The fleet which was sent on ahead was under the command of Thomas d'Aquino, count of Acerra, chief justiciar of the Terra di Lavoro, whom Frederick had appointed as his bailli in Syria, and under Henry, count of Lemburg.

emperor was coming, before it was known that he had delayed his passage, Sir Amaury Barlais, who was in Tripoli, bethought him that he would come into Cyprus to the court and justify himself against that which Sir Anceau de Brie had said of him; and he thought that within the forty days which he would have of respite before making battle after the gages were given,¹ the emperor would have come and his cause would succeed. The said Sir Amaury went at once to Cyprus and to the court and he gave the lie to Sir Anceau in that which he had said of him and offered to defend himself and proffered his gage. The king received the gages; the day of the battle was fixed and ordered for these two by the consent of the court. And within that forty days the galleys of the emperor arrived as you have heard and it was learned that he would not yet come. Then the patriarch Gerold of Jerusalem² and many other people sought to make peace of that battle, but they were not able to do so, for Sir Anceau did not wish to do so on any terms.

XIV. The battle took place. Sir Amaury was worsted, for it happened that, at the first joust, Sir Anceau broke his lance, and Sir Amaury, who was very cunning, saved his, which had one of the best irons in the world; he seized it about the middle and, thrusting, smote three blows on the visor of the helm of Sir Anceau; and each time he broke the visor and smote him in the face. At the third stroke Sir Anceau cast aside from his hand the sword wherewith he had dealt great blows on the helm of Sir Amaury, and seized the lance by its iron end with the hand wherein he had held the sword. He was most strong of hand, and so he tore the lance by force out of the grip of Sir Amaury. Sir Anceau was strong and pulled so hard

¹ The law required that forty days elapse between the giving of gages for battle and the occurrence of the combat itself. (See *Assises de Jérusalem*, I, 160-62, 487-88; *Feudal Monarchy*, p. 279).

² Gerold of Lausanne, former abbot of Molême and of Cluny and bishop of Valence, was appointed patriarch of Jerusalem by Gregory IX with full legatine powers. He is the subject of a monograph by W. Jacobs, *Patriarch Gerold von Jerusalem* (Aachen, 1905). Gerold was most active in his opposition to Frederick II and was finally recalled at the insistence of the emperor.

that Sir Amaury lost the lance which he had seized at mid-haft. Sir Anceau pulled so hard that he threw him down, and he was so heavily armed that he fell with a great thud to the ground and was badly hurt. Yet he raised himself as best he could and fled across the lists toward that place where was my lord of Beirut, outside the lists.

XV. He had so well trained his horse that it followed him everywhere, and he himself ran and his horse ran after him; he seized his sword and placed himself between the lists and the horse. Sir Anceau most hurriedly replaced his helm and took his lance by the stock just as Sir Amaury grew sore and wearied with his efforts; there was no way for him to remount for he was heavily armed and was a small knight and the horse was large and tall and spirited. Then it seemed to my lord of Beirut and to all those who were there that Sir Amaury would not be able to endure. And Sir Anceau pressed him closely, and if he had not been dissuaded therefrom he would have descended on foot for he thought lightly to slay him. My lord of Beirut entered the field, both he and the lord of Caesarea who was constable of Cyprus,¹ and they did not wish to allow more; wherefore they had some knights hold Sir Anceau forcibly by the bridle and had the horse of Sir Amaury held, which he had already so fatigued that it could do no more. They spoke of peace.²

XVI. On this day Sir Philip d'Ibelin, who was brother of my lord of Beirut, lay sick with a mortal malady. His brother, the lord of Beirut, informed him of the state of the two champions, and he, who already sensed death, wished in all ways that there should be peace; and he sent to Sir Anceau, praying and conjuring him, with the pressure which my lord of Beirut brought to bear, until peace was made. And know

¹ Walter of Caesarea, constable of Cyprus 1210-29, was the husband of Marguerite d'Ibelin, sister of John and Philip, and the father of young John of Caesarea. He was an ardent partisan of the Ibelins and died at the battle of Nicosia, killed by de Chenchi as Novare relates.

² Amadi (pp. 122-23) and Bustron (pp. 62-63) give more detailed accounts of this combat.

that the peace was humiliating to Sir Amaury for he had to pay half the ransom and other payments hard and severe; but withal thereby he saved his life. Sir Amaury left the field, both he and Sir Gauvain and the others of the five, that is to say Sir Amaury de Bethsan, and Sir William de Rivet and Sir Hugh de Gibelet; and they sent many complaints to the emperor against the house of Ibelin, saying much that was evil and false concerning it.¹

XVII (123). In this same year 1227 Sir Philip d'Ibelin, the good and noble man, who was brother of my lord of Beirut, died in Cyprus of that malady which he had. And there was great sorrow, and great was the loss to his friends and to all the country; great was the grief and great should it have been.²

XVIII (126). In the year 1229 [1228]³ the emperor Frederick crossed the sea to come to Syria by the command of Pope Gregory; ⁴ and he arrived first in the island of Cyprus in the city of Limassol,⁵ and he had with him seventy vessels — galleys, armed transports, and other manner of ships. But a great part of his host and his household and his marshal and his horse had already arrived at Acre.⁶ Sir Amaury and Sir Gauvain and a great party of their friends and their retinues took ship in armed vessels and went to meet the emperor as

¹ Amadi (p. 123) says more specifically that they accused the Ibelins of discriminating against them because they so loved the emperor.

² The *Annales de Terre Sainte* (p. 438) gives this same date of 1227; the *Eracles* (p. 365) says "in the summer, which came after, in the year of the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ MCCXXVIII."

³ Frederick sailed from Brindisi June 28, 1228. Novare's date is wrong.

⁴ Gregory IX had originally insisted that Frederick go on the crusade; but when Frederick had started and returned, the pope had excommunicated him and forbidden his going, and was consequently, at the time of Frederick's departure, endeavoring in every way possible to nullify any chances for success on the part of the emperor.

⁵ Amadi (p. 124) says on June 1st; Bustron (p. 63) says June 1, 1228. The emperor was still in Brindisi in June as shown by documents given in H-B. III, 69, 71. The actual date of his arrival at Limassol was July 21, 1228.

⁶ Richard Filanger, marshal of the Empire, Thomas of Acerra, Hermann von Salza, Henry of Lemburg, and the group which had preceded the emperor were all at Acre awaiting him.

far as the coast [of Romania].¹ As soon as they came upon him they accused my lord of Beirut that he had not dealt justly with them, and they devised the worst evil that they were able for him and his heirs and all his house, and they informed the emperor, according to that which was said, that if he should take Cyprus, from Cyprus he would be able to supply Syria with whatever necessities were needed for his household, and beyond that he would have therefrom a thousand knights.

XIX. The emperor made them a great feast and great promises and he said that he would well believe them, whereat they were right glad, and they arrived with him in Cyprus; nevertheless the emperor sent very courteous letters to my lord of Beirut, who was at Nicosia, praying and requiring, as of his dear uncle, that he come to confer with him and bring him the young king and his three children and all his friends.² And he sent him another message which was a prophecy by the grace of Our Lord, for he sent word that he and his friends and his children should be enriched and honored by

¹ I have inserted the "of Romania" from Amadi, p. 124. Novare's text is indefinite in saying "as far as the coast." I should infer that this phrase was in Philip's original text and was merely omitted by the compiler of the *Gestes*; Kohler should have included it.

² D. Jauna, *Histoire de Chypre*, I, 517, gives a text of this letter from Frederick to John d'Ibelin as follows:

"My lord and very honored Uncle: The present will serve to inform you of our arrival at Limassol in passing on our way to Palestine, for the purpose of assisting the servitors of Jesus Christ, and to tell you that before our departure for that country we desire to have the satisfaction of seeing you with the king and your children, all our dear and well beloved cousins, that we may have the pleasure of embracing you and of knowing you personally. We desire moreover to consult with you as to the conduct which we should pursue for the recovery of the Holy Land, esteeming infinitely your advice and the counsels of a man so sage and so experienced as you, and persuaded that the alliance which exists between us should make you take part in the happy success of our enterprise. It is for this that we pray you to come at once to Limassol, since the urgency of our affairs does not permit us to make a prolonged sojourn here. At Limassol the 17th September, 1228. Your very affectionate nephew, Frederick, Emperor."

Loredano, *Histoire des rois de Chypre* (French edition, Paris, 1732), I, 55, gives substantially the same letter, though in somewhat shorter form. The letter is not included in Mas Latrie or in Huillard-Bréholles, but does bear out the remarks of Philip de Novare, and though it probably is not an accurate and exact copy of the emperor's letter may well have been derived from the original.

his coming, and so they were, God be thanked, though it was not by his wish. The messenger of the emperor was received with much honor at Nicosia and there was great rejoicing at his coming.

XX. My lord of Beirut assembled his friends and sought their counsel for young King Henry and for himself. All with one voice cried out that neither he nor his children should place themselves in the power of the emperor, nor should they there conduct the king their lord; for the evil deeds of the emperor were too well known and many times had he said and sent fine words and followed them with deeds most horrible and oppressive; wherefore they counseled that he should excuse himself in some manner, the while saying that he and all his friends and all the strength of Cyprus were arraying themselves with great haste and would follow him to Syria in the service of God, and that they would serve him in Syria as their lord "and all this had been devised by Sir Philip your brother when yet he lived." This would have been good counsel to him, for in Syria were the Temple and Hospital and other good men who desired welfare and peace, and the emperor would not have been able so to accomplish his will in everything.

XXI. My lord of Beirut replied to this counsel, saying that they had counseled loyally and lovingly, but that he preferred to be captured or slain and to suffer that which God had in store for him, rather than consent that anyone should be able to say that through him and his house or through the people on this side of the sea was lacking or delayed the service of God and the conquest of the kingdom of Jerusalem and of Cyprus;¹ for he did not wish to do ill by Our Lord, nor did he wish that people could say throughout the world: "The emperor of Rome came across the sea in great force and would have conquered all, but that the lord of Beirut and other disloyal men of Outremer loved the Saracens better than

¹ This last phrase makes no sense: Cyprus was not to be conquered by the crusaders.

Christians, and because of this they revolted against the emperor and did not wish that the Holy Land should be recovered."

XXII (127). For these reasons above given, the lord of Beirut went to the emperor, with his children and all his friends and all the strength of Cyprus both knights and sergeants. They took their little lord, King Henry, to the emperor and placed themselves entirely in his power;¹ he received them with great feasting and great appearance of joy, and it seemed that their enemies were to be disappointed. Immediately the emperor asked a favor of him, which was that they should take off the black robes which they were still wearing for the death of Sir Philip d'Ibelin, their brother; for he said that the joy of his coming should be greater to them than the sorrow for their friend, their brother, who was dead, even though he was a most noble man and valiant. They accepted readily this command and thanking him willingly offered completely their bodies and their hearts and all their goods to his command. The emperor thanked them therefor most gladly and said that he would reward them greatly and richly.

XXIII. And now he sent robes of scarlet to those who wore black ones, and to others jewels, and he prayed them with his own mouth that they dine with him the next day. They prepared their robes hastily and next morning all appeared dressed in scarlet before the emperor. On the night before, he had opened secretly a door in the wall of a room which led to a garden; this was in a fine house where he was lodged which my lord Philip d'Ibelin had built in Limassol. By this false postern the emperor caused to enter secretly by night three thousand men-at-arms or more, sergeants, arbales-

¹ The *Eracles* (p. 367) says: "he [the emperor] required to have by the right of the Empire the baillage of the king who was under age and of his land, and the homages of the king and of his men, and in this there were none who contradicted him, indeed it was done entirely as he had asked. When he had received the homages he kept the king in his house." This surrender of the person of the king would seem at first to be an acceptance of the emperor's claims to the baillage, but as is soon apparent, it was merely a recognition of his suzerainty over the king, and in no wise prejudiced Ibelin's rights as bailli.

ters, and sailors, so that nearly all the fighting men of his fleet were there; and they were disposed throughout the stables and rooms, and the gates were closed on them until it was the hour to eat. The tables were laid and the water was poured.

XXIV. The emperor had seated beside him the lord of Beirut and the old lord of Caesarea, who was constable of Cyprus; at another long table he had seated in the first place the king of Cyprus, with the king of Salonica,¹ the Marquis Lance,² and other barons of Germany and of the kingdom,³ and he ordered that all the Cypriot knights should be seated in such manner that my lord of Beirut and the others could see and hear him when he spoke. He arranged that the two sons of my lord of Beirut served before him, the one with the cup, the other with the bowl, while the young lord of Caesarea and Sir Anceau de Brie should carve before him, and all four should wear tunics and doublets over their mantles, for he said that such was the usage and the law of the Empire. They served him most willingly and nobly, and many were the courses and the different viands.

XXV. At the last course the armed men came out from those places where they had been posted and they took possession of the palace and the rooms, the great court and the master gate and all the others. There were . . .⁴ well-armed men in the palace where the emperor was, and there were many before him who had arms in their hands, some holding the hilts of swords and others daggers. The Cypriots took good note but did not say a word, and they strove to give the appearance of ease. The emperor turned his face towards the lord of Beirut and said loudly to him: "Sir John, I wish to demand of you two things; you will do them agreeably and

¹ Demetrius of Montferrat, titular king of Salonica, son of Boniface II de Montferrat.

² Manfred II, marquis of Lancia, vicar general of Lombardy.

³ The phrase is *dou regne*; I presume this to mean *Il Regno* — the Two Sicilies. As the phrase is, "barons of Germany and of the kingdom," it probably refers to the kingdom of Sicily and not that of Cyprus.

⁴ Lacuna in manuscript of text; probably contained the number of men.

well if you know what is wise." And he replied: "Sire, speak your pleasure, and I shall do willingly that which I consider to be right, or what honest men so deem."

XXVI. "One of the two things," said the emperor, "is that you surrender to me the city of Beirut, for you do not have and hold it by right. The other is that you render to me all that the bailliage of Cyprus and the rule thereof has profited and brought you since the death of King Hugh; that is, the revenues for ten years; for it is my right according to the usages of Germany."¹ The lord of Beirut replied: "Sire, I believe that you jest and make sport of me; and it may well be that certain evil men who hate me have suggested this demand, and because of this it has been made by you; but, as God wills, you are so good and wise a lord that you know to whatever extent we are able to serve you we will do so willingly, and so you will not believe them." The emperor put his hand to his head and said: "By this head which many times has worn a crown, I will accomplish my will in these two things which I have asked or you shall be taken a prisoner."

XXVII. Then the lord of Beirut arose and said in a loud voice with commanding presence: "I have and I hold Beirut as my rightful fief; for as much as my lady Queen Isabelle,² who was my sister through my mother and daughter of King Amaury³ and thus legal heir to the kingdom of Jerusalem, together with her lord King Amaury⁴ gave me Beirut in exchange for the constabship, when the Christians had recovered it all destroyed so that the Temple and the Hospital and all the barons of Syria had refused it.⁵ I fortified it and maintained it by the alms of Christians and by my own work, and

¹ That is, that the suzerain should have not only full wardship over a minor vassal, but also the revenues of the fief during the term of his wardship.

² Isabelle Plantagenet, queen of Jerusalem, 1190-1205/6.

³ Amaury I of Jerusalem, 1162-74.

⁴ Amaury II of Jerusalem, 1197-1205.

⁵ John held the constabship, 1194-1200, trading it for Beirut as stated above. Beirut had been conquered by Saladin and was restored to the Christians in a sadly devastated condition, having been in the possession of the Saracens from 1187 to 1197.

always I used and consumed therein whatever I had in revenues in Cyprus and elsewhere; if you contend that I hold it illegally, I will furnish you proofs and rights thereto in the court of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Of what you require of me concerning the revenues of the bailliage of Cyprus and the rule thereof, I have never had any, and my brother as bailli had never aught save the trouble and the labor of the government of the kingdom, but Queen Alice, my niece, had the revenues and disposed of them at her own will, as the one who legally held the bailliage according to our usage; and if you demand of me the right of this, I will furnish you proofs by the usage and by the court of the kingdom of Cyprus; but be certain that for fear of death or of prison will I not do more unless the judgment of the good and loyal court requires me so to do.”¹

XXVIII. The emperor was greatly angered and swore, menacing him, and finally said: “I have rightly heard when I was informed across the sea a long time since that your words were exceeding sweet and polite and that you were most wise and subtle of phrase, but I shall show you that your wit and subtlety and your words will avail naught against my force.” The lord of Beirut replied in such manner that all who were there marveled and all his friends feared greatly.

XXIX. His reply was: “Sire, you have long ago heard mention of my polite words but I have also often and long since heard of your deeds; and when I thought of coming here, all my council with one voice warned me of these things that you are now doing and worse; but I did not wish to believe them at all. It was not that I did not fear you greatly, nonetheless I came forth well witting and forewarned. From you I will still more willingly receive imprisonment or death than consent that anyone shall be able to say aught to our ill, or suffer that the need of Our Lord and the conquest of the Holy Land and your service should be set back through me or my

¹ One of the cardinal principles of Outremer law was that the liegeman could be disseised of his fief only by the action of the high court; it was to this fundamental rule that Ibelin here appealed.

house or through those of the land where I was, or that the news should reach Christendom and they should say: 'Do you not know? The emperor of Rome went overseas and would have conquered all had it not been for the Ibelins, those traitors of Outremer who loved the Saracens better than the Christians, for they revolted and did not wish to follow the emperor, and because of this was all lost.' All this exactly as I have related it to you I said to my council when I left Nicosia to come to you. I came quite prepared to suffer whatever might come, for love of Our Lord Jesus Christ who suffered passion and death for us and who will deliver us from it if it pleases Him; and if He wishes and designs to decree that we shall receive death or imprisonment, I thank Him therefore; and to Him I hold throughout." With this he ceased speaking and seated himself.

XXX (128). The emperor was much enraged and changed color often, and people looked often at the lord of Beirut and many were the words and threats; and the men of religion and other good men intervened to reconcile them, but in no way could they change the lord of Beirut from that which he had said he would do. The emperor made several strange and menacing demands. In the end it was agreed as the lord of Beirut had previously offered, and no more could force prevail than that he should surrender to the emperor twenty of the most prominent vassals of Cyprus, who pledged with their bodies, goods, and estates, that the lord of Beirut would serve him and would go to the court of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and there furnish his proofs; and only when he should appear in the court were the hostages to be freed and released.

XXXI. The emperor demanded of him his two sons, Sir Balian and the other Sir Baldwin,¹ and whatever he [my lord] said availed naught; wherefore perforce he agreed that he [the emperor] should have them. And then the emperor said

¹ The *Eracles* (p. 367) says "his two sons, Balian the eldest born, and Hugh, the third."

to the lord of Beirut: "I well know that Balian is your very heart and that so long as I have him I shall have you." The emperor ordered that they be summoned and they came straightway, and their father took them each by his right hand to the emperor, and said: "I commit them to you and leave them in God's faith and yours by this covenant: that as soon as I shall come into the court of the kingdom of Jerusalem prepared to prove my right, they shall be freed and released, that you will hold and guard them honorably, and that you will neither cause them nor suffer them to receive any harm, villainy, or outrage." "And I receive them in God's faith and mine," said the emperor, "and by me shall they be enriched and honored, if God wills." With this the emperor left,¹ and he had them put in pillories,² large and exceeding cruel; there was a cross of iron to which they were bound so that they were able to move neither their arms nor their legs, and at night the other men were put in irons with them.³

XXXII (129). As soon as the lord of Beirut had left the place, his enemies went to the emperor and said to him: "Sire, what have you done? The lord of Beirut will now go and provision the castles against you and will raise up all the land, nor because of his children will he desist; and most of the people so love him that they will follow him. But be well advised, order him to be sent for at once, and send him friendly letters saying that he may so act that you will restore to him his sons. As soon as he comes capture him: 'He who has the villain has his cattle.' In this way can you become lord of Cyprus and in no other." The emperor, who willingly did much evil of himself without encouragement, ordered that he be summoned. But the lord of Beirut was well put on his guard by those whom he could well trust and who had been in the council. He was camped outside the city in tents, he and his friends,

¹ Amadi (p. 129) says "hardly had their father left, when the emperor, etc.," a reading far preferable to that of the text.

² *Traversains*.

³ The *Eracles* (p. 368) confirms this imprisonment and maltreatment of the hostages.

and all had horses and arms; and the emperor had no horses in the city, but within the city the control was his because of the many infantry which he had.

XXXIII. The lord of Beirut held council and said that he wished to provision the castles and guard the land for the rightful heirs of King Hugh, in case aught should happen to the king whom the emperor had taken and held. Then the young lord of Caesarea, who was nephew of the lord of Beirut, and Sir Anceau de Brie — these two who were of great prowess and vigor — said to him: "Lord, do not do so, but go to the emperor and take us with you, and each of us will have a dagger hidden in his hose and as soon as we shall be before him we shall slay him, and our men will be mounted on their horses before the gate well armed. And when the emperor shall be dead no one will move and so we can rescue our cousins." The lord of Beirut was greatly angered, and he threatened to strike and kill them if they ever again spoke of it, and he said that thus would they be dishonored for always, and all Christendom would cry out: "These traitors overseas have slain their lord the emperor." [For he said:] "Since he would be dead and we alive and safe, our right would become wrong, and the truth of it would never be believed. He is our lord;¹ whatever he does we will guard our faith and our honor."

XXXIV (130). At this the lord of Beirut departed as soon as it was night. The clamor was great in his camp at his departure. The emperor heard the clamor and was most frightened; whereupon, departing from the manor where he was, he went to the tower of the Hospital which was strong and nearer his ships, and there he put the hostages in prison. The lord of Beirut went straight from Limassol to Nicosia and occupied it with those who wished to follow him. He richly provisioned a castle which was called Dieudamor² to which he sent the women and children, both his own and those of his

¹ Both as regent of Jerusalem and as suzerain of the king of Cyprus.

² Dieudamor is the old name for the castle of St. Hilarion, in the mountains between Nicosia and Kyrenia.

friends. He and all his men-at-arms remained in the city of Nicosia. The emperor sent to Syria ordering his army and horses and many mercenaries¹ to come to Cyprus. The old prince of Antioch,² the lord of Gibelet,³ the lord of Sidon,⁴ and many other men came to the emperor at Limassol; and while he was there Sir Amaury Barlais and his company were quartered in the house where the hostages were in prison. It was said that he did much foulness which did fall direct upon them.

XXXV (131). When the emperor Frederick was well reinforced, he rode straight to Nicosia;⁵ and the lord of Beirut was advised by his council that he could well combat him. But this noble man said that that he would not do. For if God permitted he would not fight against his lord, nor did he ever wish to combat against him if he could avoid it, for his custom was always to keep in the right towards him willingly; he had undertaken this work with regret, but having begun it he would finish it. And Our Lord gave him exceeding grace of sense and valor and honor, and showed him His love more than to any man of his time or of his wealth. He [Ibelin] surrendered

¹ I have translated by "mercenaries" the term *sodeers*, which also often included any knights or sergeants serving for money payments.

² Bohemond IV of Antioch, 1201-33. According to the *Eracles* (p. 368), he met the emperor at Piroghi on the road between Limassol and Nicosia.

³ Guy I of Gibelet, 1194-1240. He was an ardent supporter of the emperor, having loaned him 30,000 besants.

⁴ Balian I of Sidon, 1198-1240, son of Renaud of Sidon and Helvis d'Ibelin, nephew of John of Beirut, was one of the most important lords of Syria. He married a niece of John de Brienne and played an important rôle in the crusade against Damietta; he was one of the Jerusalemite barons who accompanied Queen Isabelle to Apulia when she married Frederick, remaining in Italy for some time after the wedding. He is mentioned by Salimbene as having been in Padua in 1225 at the baptism of that chronicler, and he appears on several charters of Frederick in 1226. (H-B. II, 536, 538, 671). When the news of Isabelle's death reached Syria, the barons elected him one of the baillies for the emperor, in which position Frederick retained him. He was an important envoy between the emperor and the Egyptian sultan and helped negotiate the Treaty of Jaffa. When Frederick left Syria he appointed him bailli, as Novare tells. He represents at their best that group of Syrian barons who wished to respect the rights of the emperor, yet refused to stand by when his agents violated the constitution of the kingdom.

⁵ August 17, 1228.

Nicosia to the emperor and went to Dieudamor, which he had provisioned; and the emperor did not dare go after him but remained a long time in Nicosia with a great many men.

XXXVI (132). Winter approached and the emperor received news from his own country that Pope Gregory and King John of Jerusalem were making war on him in Apulia,¹ wherefore he was much afraid and so made great haste to go to Syria to make a truce with the Saracens that he might return to his own country. For this reason it resulted that he hurriedly offered terms of peace to the lord of Beirut, and such were the arguments advanced by the clergy and others that they came to an agreement. The conclusion was that the emperor and all his barons swore to the lord of Beirut that he would deliver to him at once his two children safe and sound in body and in limb, that he would keep peace with him and would not amerce him or his people if it was not done by action of the two courts, nor would he bear malice for those things which had passed. He would have King Henry himself receive the castles and the kingdom — and as the king was but a child, he would appoint some of his [Henry's] liegemen who would guard the fortresses and the kingdom until the king should come of age.

XXXVII. The lord of Beirut and his men swore that they would surrender the castle of Dieudamor at the command of the aforementioned king of Cyprus, that they would come with the emperor and serve him for so long as he should be in Syria at their own expense, and that they would bear no malice towards him or his partisans for those things which had passed. The emperor insisted that they should recognize that the bailliage belonged to him, to which they replied that they would not do it, even were they to lose their heads, for in re-

¹ John de Brienne, who felt himself cheated out of his crown of Jerusalem, had allied himself with the pope in opposition to the emperor. He had invaded Apulia at the head of a papal army and had stirred up rebellion among the discontented Sicilian nobles. The campaign was quite successful and he gained control of a good part of Frederick's continental possessions.

gard to the bailliage they were the men of Queen Alice; but unhesitatingly would they swear fealty to the emperor because he was the chief suzerain of their overlord King Henry. They would swear this same by this covenant: that if it was provided, in the privileges contained in the covenants which were established between the emperor's father and King [Amaury] Henry, that the men of the king ought to swear fealty, they would be held to the oath, but if this was not contained in the privileges then they should be absolved therefrom.¹ The Temple and Hospital and all the barons and notables of both parties pledged themselves to the maintenance of this peace. The castle of Dieudamor and all the other fortresses of Cyprus were surrendered to the king, and he, by the command of and through the fear of the emperor, turned them over to those of his men who were of the party of the emperor.²

XXXVIII (133). The emperor Frederick and his followers went at once to Famagusta to embark.³ There came to him his navy from Limassol, and there he delivered to the lord of Beirut his two children, who had endured so long an imprisonment on land and in the galleys at sea and were so miserable

¹ I have translated quite freely this rather confused paragraph. Henry must be a mistake for Amaury. As Mas Latrie points out (*Histoire de Chypre*, I, 244-45) there is considerable significance in this agreement to swear fealty but refusal to perform homage. According to the *Assises de Jérusalem* (II, 398) the liegemen need not perform homage to the bailli of a minor lord, as homage could only be required by the lord himself; but the bailli could confiscate the estates of any liegeman who refused his homage for the period of the bailliage, though if the vassal performed his homage to the lord when he came of age the lord was bound to restore the fief to him (see *Feudal Monarchy in Jerusalem*, pp. 53-54). In the case of Ibelin and Frederick II, the Cypriot barons were quite willing to swear allegiance to the suzerain of their king if the agreement between King Amaury and the Emperor, Henry VI, so provided; but only King Henry himself was held to perform homage to Frederick as his suzerain. Ibelin already held the homages of the liegemen, which had been performed to him as bailli for the minor king.

² The *Eracles* (p. 369), says: "The peace was concluded that the emperor have for his bailliage of the king the land of Cyprus, and all the revenues should be his, and he should deliver the hostages and quit the pledges and he should receive the homage of John d'Ibelin, save the requests which he had made of him . . . And he put his castellans in the castles and his baillies throughout the land to collect the revenues and send them to him in Syria." Ibelin never gave Frederick his homage in Frederick's capacity as bailli of Cyprus; this must mean Ibelin's homage to Frederick as regent of Jerusalem.

³ September 2, 1228.

that it was pitiful to behold them. Nevertheless he [the emperor] received Sir Balian into his household and offered and gave him much; and he, who was the most valiant young knight, vigorous and generous, tactful and the most agreeable to all people of those on this side of the sea, served him willingly and amiably so that the emperor was well pleased with him. The other son of my lord of Beirut, who was a squire and was named John,¹ he kept with him thereafter while he was in Syria, and said that he would give him Foggia which is in Apulia, and because of this was he called John of Foggia.²

XXXIX (134). The emperor and all his fleet moved out of Famagusta one evening at nightfall.³ This same night the old prince of Antioch left him and fled in a galley wherein he reached one of his castles which was called Nefin.⁴ Then he gave thanks to God that he had escaped from the emperor, for he had come to Cyprus after the lord of Beirut had made his peace,⁵ and the emperor had required of the prince that he command all his liegemen of Antioch and Tripoli to swear fealty as those of Cyprus had done. The prince considered that he might as well be dead and disinherited, so he pretended sickness and muteness and cried right loudly "A-A-A" and so effectively did he do this that he departed as you have heard, but as soon as he reached Nefin he recovered.

XL (135). In the year 1229 [1228] the emperor came to Syria with all his navy and the king and all his Cypriots with

¹ Does this mean that it was John and not Baldwin who was the second hostage? Or does it mean that, after returning the hostages, Balian and Baldwin, Frederick took John, the younger son, into his household? I think the latter.

² Röhricht (*Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem*, p. 775) says that he returned to Italy with the emperor: "ist sogar dem Kaiser auf seiner Rückkehr vom Kreuzzuge nach Italien gefolgt, wo er von der Stadt Foggia, deren Verwaltung ihm übertragen wurde, Johannes von Foggia genannt wurde." But he cites the *Gestes* as his authority for this statement, and there is nothing in the text to indicate that John returned to Italy with Frederick. Foggia is in the Capitanate.

³ September 3, 1228. The *Eracles* (p. 369) specifies that John d'Ibelin and Walter of Caesarea accompanied him.

⁴ Nefin is in the county of Tripoli, on the coast just south of the city of Tripoli.

⁵ But in par. XXXIV above Philip said that Bohemond came to the emperor before he set out for Nicosia to pursue Ibelin.

him. The lord of Beirut went to Beirut and was most gladly beheld there, for no lord was ever more dearly loved by his men. He remained only one day, and then at once followed the emperor and joined him at Tyre. The emperor was very well received in Syria and all did homage to him. He left Tyre and went to the city of Acre, and was received there with honor.¹ His fleet, which consisted of seventy galleys and ships, entered the port of Acre, and he [the emperor] was quartered in the castle. Then he had the liegemen assembled and demanded of them that they do homage to him² as the bailli because he had a small son who was called King Conrad and was rightful heir to the kingdom of Jerusalem through his mother who was dead. The emperor, his men, and all the men of Syria left Acre to go to Jaffa,³ and there they made terms of truce with El Kamel,⁴ who was then sultan of Babylon and Damascus⁵ and who held Jerusalem and all the country;

¹ The papal excommunication, which was published in Syria shortly after Frederick's arrival, estranged the clergy and the Templars and Hospitallers, though the Teutonic Knights stood by the emperor and the Syrian barons paid little attention to it.

² This passage, beginning "He left Tyre . . .," inserted from Amadi (p. 133) by Kohler, might seem to indicate that Frederick stopped first at Tyre and then went on to Acre, and the fact that John d'Ibelin joined him at Tyre after stopping first at Beirut would confirm this impression. The account of the *Chronicon Sicul.* (see Appendix, p. 203) shows, however, that the imperial fleet put into Tyre harbor without disembarking and did not remain there any length of time. Ibelin could have joined the fleet in the harbor; Frederick made his first landing in Syria at Acre, the capital of the kingdom.

³ Amadi (p. 133) adds "distant from Acre twenty-four leagues." Frederick's army fortified Jaffa while the negotiations were in progress.

⁴ El Malik el Kamel abou'l Mealy Mohammed ibn Abou Bekr ben Ayyoub (1218-38), eldest son of Sayf al Din and nephew of Saladin, was the ruler of Egypt after the death of his father.

⁵ Babylon of course refers to Egypt. It is not true that El Kamel was at this time sultan of Damascus. El Moadden Isa, a younger brother of El Kamel, ruled Damascus 1218-27, and was succeeded by his son El Malik en Nasir Daoud. At first Daoud was able to enter into his inheritance with the approval of his other uncle, El Aschraf Musa of Mesopotamia, but in 1228 El Kamel and El Aschraf entered into an alliance to divide the territories of Damascus. By this alliance El Kamel received Palestine while El Aschraf got Damascus and the northern parts of El Moadden's possessions. The siege of Damascus by El Aschraf was going on all the time that Frederick was in Palestine, and the desire to be free to take part therein was one of the reasons that El Kamel granted the favorable treaty he did.

thereby were surrendered Jerusalem and Nazareth and Lydda to the emperor.¹

XLI (136). In this same year [1229], in the midst of all these events, the emperor sent Count Stephen of Botron² to Cyprus, and other Longobards as well, and had all the fortresses and revenues of the crown seized for his use, and he said that he was the bailli and that it was his right. The Cypriots were much afeared as were their women and children, and they placed themselves in the charge of the clergy wherever they were able. Some fled outside of Cyprus; notably Sir John d'Ibelin³ — who later became count of Jaffa and who was at that time a child — with his sister and other gentlefolk fled in the heart of winter, and they encountered such bad weather that they barely escaped drowning; however with the aid of God they reached Tortosa. The emperor held Cyprus; the Cypriots who were in his host were very ill at ease and, if the lord of Beirut would have consented to it, they would have carried off and kidnapped young King Henry and would have deserted the emperor.

XLII (137). The emperor was by now unpopular with all the people of Acre, especially was he disliked by the Templars;⁴ and at that time there was a most valiant brother of

¹ For a discussion of the treaty and an enumeration of the terms, see the introduction to this volume, pp. 36-38.

² This should be Cotron not Botron. This is Stephen, count of Cotron, whom Frederick sent to Syria in 1225 with three hundred knights from Sicily to accompany the bishop of Melfi and receive the homages of the Jerusalemite barons on the occasion of the marriage of the emperor and the queen of Jerusalem (*Eracles*, p. 4359; H-B. II, 921-24). Amadi (p. 133) reads "Count Stephen who was at Botron."

³ John d'Ibelin of Jaffa, son of Philip d'Ibelin, was later to become the patron and pupil of Philip de Novare. He is the author of the great work on the Assizes of Jerusalem. As he was seventeen in 1232 (see *infra*, p. 138) he must have been fifteen at this time.

⁴ Both the Templars and Hospitallers refused to follow Frederick as he was excommunicate and under the ban of the papacy. They finally agreed to coöperate with his army as allies serving under the "ban of Christ" and not under the command of the emperor. (*Eracles*, pp. 372-73). Frederick attempted in vain to get possession of the Templars' castle of Chateau Pelerin (Rey, *Architecture militaire*, p. 99) and accused the Templars of attempting to assassinate him. (M. Paris, III, 177-79). The Teutonic Knights served the emperor willingly

the Temple, Brother Peter de Montaigu,¹ who was very brave and noble; and most valiant and wise² was also the master of the Teutonic Knights;³ and the people of the plain⁴ were not well inclined towards the emperor. The emperor did much that seemed evil, and he always kept galleys under arms, with their oars in the locks, even in winter. Many men said that he wished to capture the lord of Beirut, his children, Sir Anceau de Brie, and others of his friends, the master of the Temple and other people, and that he wished to send them to Apulia. On one occasion they said that he wished to kill them at a council to which he had called and summoned them, but they became aware of it and came in such strength that he did not dare to do it. However he made his truce with the Saracens as was desired and went to Jerusalem,⁵ and thereafter came to Acre. The lord of Beirut never left him and, though there were those who often advised him to leave, he did not wish to do it.

XLIII (138). At Acre the emperor assembled his men and

and were loyal to him throughout, but the other Orders respected the papal commands and refused to obey the emperor. The opposition of the Orders and of the patriarch is told of in the letters of Gerold, Herman, *et al.*, and Ryccardus S. Germano (p. 355).

¹ Peter de Montaigu, grand master 1219-32, brother of Archbishop Eustorgue of Nicosia.

² Kohler inserts this phrase from Amadi (p. 134). Amadi clears up the confusion of the *Gestes*, saying: "at this time there were many valiant brothers of the Temple, and the master was Brother Peter de Montaigu, and equally had the house of the Teutons a valiant and wise master."

³ Herman von Salza, grand master 1210-39, was one of Frederick's most trusted advisers. It was he who helped negotiate the marriage with the queen of Jerusalem securing for Frederick the throne of Jerusalem. He is best known for procuring for the Knights the privileges in Prussia which later formed the basis for their territorial state.

⁴ The "people of the plain" probably refers to the population of the coastal plain around Acre.

⁵ This is Novare's only mention of Frederick's coronation in Jerusalem on March 18, 1229. The *Eracles* (p. 374) gives the account of the coronation from the Syrian point of view, noting that the Cypriot contingent remained at Jaffa and did not accompany the emperor to the Holy City. This circumstance may account for the omission of any mention of the coronation by Novare. The Ibelin faction could not recognize this coronation as they recognized Frederick only as bailli for Conrad, the legitimate heir (See Rohricht, *Geschichte*, p. 791 ff.; Kantorowicz, *Frederick II*, p. 197 ff.).

had all the people of the city come there, and there were many Pisans who were very well disposed toward him. He addressed them and stated that which he desired; and in his address he complained much of the Temple.

He laid siege to the house of the Temple;¹ and the house of the Temple was badly damaged, for the convent was all outside, but thereupon many folk came to it both by sea and by land. I do not know how long the siege lasted, but villainously he abandoned it.² The emperor arranged for his passage secretly, and on the first day of May at dawn, without letting it be known by anyone, he got into a galley before the street of the butchers. Whence it happened that the butchers and the old people of the street, who were most ill disposed, ran along beside him and pelted him with tripe and bits of meat most scurrilously.

XLIV. The lord of Beirut and Sir Eudes de Montbéliard³ heard talk of this; and they hurried there and drove away with blows those who had been throwing things at him, and they cried to him from the land to where he was on the galley that

¹ The siege lasted five days according to Gerold (*MGH. Epis.* I, 315-17). A letter of Gerold of May, 1229 (H-B. III, 135-40), complains that Frederick besieged him in his patriarchal palace. Kantorowicz (pp. 204-5) claims that the people were incited by the patriarch against Frederick. Frederick's enmity toward the Temple continued after his return to Italy, and he confiscated all its lands in his domains.

² Amadi (pp. 134-35) and Bustron (p. 72) tell of attempts made by the emperor to capture John of Beirut at this time. The Templars, Genoese, and John of Beirut formed a working alliance against the emperor and protected themselves.

³ Eudes de Montbéliard, constable of Jerusalem 1218-44, had been appointed bailli of Jerusalem by King John de Brienne in 1223 and had been continued in that office by Frederick at the time of his marriage. In July, 1227, he was replaced by Count Thomas of Acerra but on the death of Isabelle was elected as bailli for Conrad by the barons, with Balian of Sidon as his colleague. These two were in possession of the bailliage when the emperor arrived in Acre. Eudes returned to the bailliage when Garnier l'Aleman resigned to become a Templar in 1239 and again when Conrad became of age in 1243. He favored the rights of King Conrad against the Ibelins although he was closely related to that house: he was the son of Walter de Montbéliard and Borgogne de Lusignan, his aunt Alice was the wife of Philip d'Ibelin, his sister Eschive married Balian the son of John of Beirut, he himself married Eschive de Tiberias, the granddaughter of Helvis d'Ibelin and niece of Balian of Sidon. His daughter married Philip d'Ibelin the son of Baldwin.

they commended him to God. The emperor replied in so low a voice that I do not know whether it was well or ill; he said that he was leaving as baillies in his place the lord of Sidon¹ and Garnier l'Aleman.² The emperor had very well equipped the castle of Tyre, and he gave it to the lord of Sidon to command and made it appear that he trusted much in him; but King Henry of Cyprus he took with him.

XLV (139). Thus the emperor left Acre; hated, cursed, and vilified. He arrived in Cyprus at Limassol, and there established the aforementioned King Henry and gave him to wife one of his cousins, the daughter of the Marquis of Montferrat.³ There he made the final terms with the five baillies, whom you have heard named already, who were of his party, selling them the bailliage of Cyprus and of the land for ten thousand marks, until the majority of the aforesaid king of Cyprus.⁴ He had them swear that they would not suffer the lord of

¹ See above par. XXXIV, note 5.

² Garnier l'Aleman has been identified by E. Winkelmann as Werner von Egisheim, an Alsatian (*Friedrich II*, I, 135-36). He was one of the earlier members of his house in the East and contributed to its rise to importance. He married Pavie de Gibelet, and their son John became lord of Caesarea through marriage. His family was imperialist in sentiment and his nephew Garnier the younger was a member of the imperialist-Cypriot colony in Corfu under Philip Chenart. Rohricht (*Beiträge*, I, 47, and *Geschichte*, p. 795) says that l'Aleman and John of Beirut, "zwei treue Anhänger Friedrichs!" were left as baillies while Balian of Sidon was made chatelain of Tyre. The *Eracles* (p. 388) gives Aymon de Laron as chatelain of Tyre, and Rohricht cites no authority for this amazing statement which was certainly not consistent with Frederick's policy towards the Ibelins.

³ Alice de Montferrat, daughter of William IV de Montferrat and Bertha of Gravesane, was cousin of neither Frederick nor Henry, her relationship to Henry being that she was great-niece of Conrad, the husband of Isabelle of Jerusalem. Amadi (p. 136) errs in making her the daughter of William Longsword and confusing him with Conrad. DuCange (*Familles*, p. 63) goes even farther afield, making William Longsword, the count of Salisbury, natural son of Henry II of England, the father of Alice. William III of Montferrat was the common great-grandfather of Alice and of Isabelle, Frederick's deceased wife, and his wife Sophia was the daughter of Frederick I and aunt of Frederick II. As Mas Latrie points out (*op. cit.* I, 253), Alice was in all probability not present in person at the wedding ceremony and was probably married by procurator.

⁴ Frederick had sold the bailliage to Amaury Barlais and his four companions before he left Acre (*Eracles*, p. 375). At Limassol the agreement was renewed. The bailliage was for three years.

Beirut and his partisans to return to Cyprus, and he commanded that they should dispossess them. They accepted this willingly from the emperor, whereat he turned over to them mercenaries, German, Flemish, and Longobard, whom they themselves should pay, and they sought and hired mercenaries in Acre and in other places. Certain men of the king, because of the fact that they [the baillies] had King Henry with them and moved by desire to return to their homes, joined with them and placed themselves under their command; but the castles were not surrendered to them until they had paid the money. The emperor Frederick went on over the sea and left in his place men to receive the money and deliver to them the castles.¹

XLVI (140). Philip de Novare was then in Cyprus on his own private business.² The five baillies secretly ordered him sought out at night and prayed and requested him, with every appearance of friendship, that he should arrange a peace between them and the lord of Beirut; they said that the settlement that they had made with the emperor was only for the delivery from his hands of the king and the land, and that as soon as they should have the castles they would do whatever the lord of Beirut wished.³

Philip de Novare, who knew his lord to be wise and forgiving, arranged with the five baillies that he would gladly undertake the task, if all five swore to him on the Holy Evangel, that if peace could not be made they would conduct him and his household and all his goods safely and securely

¹ The *Eracles* (p. 375) says: "And he told them that they should render the ten thousand marks to Balian of Sidon and Garnier l'Aleman who were remaining in his place as baillies of Jerusalem."

² This is the first appearance of Philip as an active factor in the story. The material up to this point he probably derived from some of the Ibelins, but from here on it becomes a personal narrative of events in which he himself played a large part.

³ Gaston Paris (*Revue de l'Orient latin*, IX [1902], 194) points out that this would seem to imply that the baillies were somewhat apologetic about their actions and that the anti-imperial party was at least the popular one. It was certainly Philip's intention to give this impression and this is one of the places where Philip's propagandist character reveals itself.

to Beirut or Acre. Philip de Novare labored hard for peace and found in his lord that which he wished.

XLVII. The five baillies taxed and robbed the poor people of Cyprus so much that they paid off the money and received the castles.¹ At that time they had so many men that they considered themselves most strong,² but greed and folly led them to this — that they became proud and thought to hold the land and defend it and to conquer my lord of Beirut and his party. Yet they still spoke secretly of peace to Philip. Then they caused the people of the country to assemble in the court of the king. One of them went himself to seek Philip, and put his arm around his neck and prayed him that he go to the king for they wished to hold council privately with him. He went willingly for he held greatly to heart the oath which they had made to him.

XLVIII. When Philip de Novare entered the court of the king, he saw that the doors were most heavily guarded by armed men of the households of the five baillies, who held the doors so closely that none could pass out. Philip was afraid but made no sign thereof. When all were assembled, one of the five baillies got up, one who was an excellent speaker named William de Rivet, and spoke at length with fine words. Among other things he said that the lord of Beirut had foolishly lost the king and the land; that they [the baillies] had wisely regained both the one and the other and that they had bought the bailliage, and because of this they required of all the people of the place that they should swear to respect, to hold, and to maintain them as their baillies until the majority of the king. And he said that they deserved well of the king. The king was in their power and was much afraid;

¹ *Eracles* (p. 376) says that the baillies despoiled the lands of John d'Ibelin and his partisans who were still in Acre that they might raise the three thousand marks to pay the emperor. (Presumably the first instalment of the ten thousand.)

² This would indicate that the Ibelin cause was not entirely the popular one and that the baillies had a considerable following. Compare note 3 on the preceding page. Philip reverts to the apologetic attitude of the baillies in the next paragraph.

and the king spoke very low and looked often towards Philip.

XLIX. As soon as this was done the Holy Evangel was carried into the place and Sir Amaury Barlais said to Philip de Novare: "Do you go first of all and swear, for we wish especially that you should be the first." Philip rose and said: "Sir, speak to me apart, you and your four companions." And they replied and cried out all five: "God help us, we will not do it, for we would have too much to do if we were to take counsel with all those who swear and nothing would ever be done; but swear and we will do more for you than have those whom you have thus far served; and that one among us all whom you wish will give you a fief for yourself and your heirs, and we will pay all your debts."¹

L. Philip replied: "I am very happy that, in the hearing of so many men, you offer to do so much for me and that you do me so great honor as a mark of your esteem, and I thank you much therefor; but I am not able to do what you ask of me for I am the man of Queen Alice in her bailliage, and if I agreed and swore to hold you as baillies then would I fail in my faith." And they cried out then: "It is not for this that you refuse, but because you do not wish to be against the lord of Beirut." And Philip said: "Against the lord of Beirut will I never be, if God wills, for I love him and his children better than any folk in the world." Then said Sir Hugh de Gibelet: "Have you heard what he said? I propose that he be hanged." Philip replied to this that he could not agree with the words of Sir Hugh, and that his father Sir Bertrand had many times spoken more wisely. Then all cried out. One said, "Take him!", another said, "Let him die at once!"

LI. Philip grew distraught at this and despaired of his life, and he knelt before the king and repeated in his hearing the covenant and the oath which the five baillies had made with

¹ Had Philip accepted the fief he would have been bound to support the baillies by the law of the feudal relation. The granting of a fief was a common way of binding someone to oneself. This is the first mention of Philip's debts, which somewhat later were extremely large.

him, and he proffered his gage and offered to stand trial as the court should decree, with his body against the body of one of the five, that it was as he claimed. Many of their retainers — those who were knights — offered their gages against Philip but he refused them all by reason of his word, and all the while he offered himself against one of the five, for he said that he was assuredly their equal and that he could easily prove that by good guarantors of his own country who were in Cyprus and Syria; and each of them denied his word but none offered his gage. Whereupon they arrested him and had him guarded in a certain quarter of the palace by knights who held naked swords in their hands. The people marveled much at what Philip dared to say and do. They [the baillies] had a great pillory brought in and commanded that he be put therein, and that he should be taken to the castle of Dieudamor. At the palace they guarded him most of the night; all the other people took the oath to the baillies.

LII. The five baillies took counsel apart and said: "This man has demanded trial in court, and if we take him without it, it will be violence; but let us require of him that he give pledges of a thousand marks of silver that he will come into court tomorrow, in such fashion as he now is; and let us say to him that if he so swears he will be tried by action of the court; and when he shall have left here let us have him slain as a mortal enemy this night." Thus, as they had prearranged, they required pledges of him. Philip de Novare replied that he had no pledge and, as a liegeman, did not need to give any, for his faith and his fief pledged him. They told him that they would find him good security and they offered to pledge him themselves, but he, thanking them, prayed that they would so serve him when he might have need thereof.

LIII (141). As soon as he left them Philip de Novare went straight to the Hospital and so arranged that on this same night he collected fully an hundred and fifty men at arms, and he found there all the women and children of those who

were in Syria with the lord of Beirut; if Philip had not come there, the five baillies would have entered the place the next day, and would have taken him.¹ In this same night was attacked and taken the house where Philip had previously lodged; they found his bed made, and they pierced the covering on the bed with many lances and darts. There were two of his men who guarded the house, of them one was killed and the other was badly wounded.

LIV (142). The next day the five baillies seized all the fiefs of my lord of Beirut and of his friends. Philip caused a cistern to be sunk within the tower of the Hospital and caused many biscuits to be made, and he provisioned well the Hospital and equipped it with palisades. When the five baillies knew that Philip was there they besieged the place and closely guarded it by day and by night so that he could not come out. Philip de Novare wished to have this known especially by my lord Balian d'Ibelin, his compeer, and after he had begun to write the letters he had a desire to write them in verse. And because Sir Amaury Barlais was more wicked than all the others he substituted for him Renard, and because in all the stories of Renard, Grimbert, the badger, is his cousin, he called Sir Amaury de Bethsan Grimbert; and because Sir Hugh de Gibelet had a twisted mouth and looked as if he was always making grimaces, Philip called him the monkey.

LV (143). This is the letter in verse which Sir Philip de Novare, who was confined in the Hospital of St. John at Nicosia, sent to Sir Balian d'Ibelin, who was at Acre:

More than an hundred thousand greetings he sends to you,
Fair sire and compeer, he who is now a brother new.
Were 't not for the white cross, there were so much to do
That he might not sing this year the hours or the mass full through.

¹ Amadi (p. 140) says "would have killed him." This passage is none too clear: what Philip meant was that he took shelter in the house of the Hospitallers where the women were, that he raised one hundred and fifty men and with them garrisoned the house, thereby saving both himself and the women.

Fair compeer, now your land well representeth Spain,
 There are five baillies in one company, 'tis plain.
 Much love they showed unto me, and they strove to gain
 Me to their cause. But I denied them. In disdain
 And wrath, and without legal trial, but by chicane
 They seized and threw me in the stews, to my great pain;
 Harshly that night they represented Allemain:
 The doors they had well guarded, none broke through the chain.
 He of the fierce face set them there, he who was fain
 To encompass with his body's self the whole domain.

I did not see that night any so savage beast
 As he who thrust his head into the field. If pleased
 Were God, such tempest will around him be released,
 For every year to all great saints is rendered feast.

Thus was I placed in durance in the court that night:
 Fair speech and plea for justice won me no respite;
 For all I said, they judged me without law or right.
 Within the pillory the traitors chained me tight,
 And then they sought to slay me treacherously by night;
 But I was warned by one, who cared not whom it might
 Displease, who gave me loyal counsel in my plight.

And now I have enveloped me in Saint John's cloak;
 But I trust God, I'll come forth this year from that yoke.
 Knew I that Balian were come among our folk,
 And Anceau, the snub-nosed, I should another ban convoke.

He who took stand betwixt the lists and his own horse
 Has put me, beaten, in the Hospital by force.
 God! Had they let the wretch be slain, it had stopped the source
 Of so much woe that hath in Cyprus had its course.

Had they agreed with Anceau, the snub-nosed instead,
 When from the horse he fell to earth upon his head,
 The blessing of the holy mass would have been said:
 All would have said: "God, thanks to Thee be rendered."

Then were the final blessing uttered of his song.

Balian, the prison and the gyves forget not long.
 Fain would he hide it, but 'tis known by a great throng.

If they arrested you, take you therefrom no shame,
 For he who took you captured king and count in the same

Wise. But it irks me sore that all say and proclaim
 'Twas done by him who is of humankind the shame;
 Well showing that he greatly fears you and your name.

Oh, Balian, suffer not that in your time befall
 That ransomed from the field he rule you as a thrall.
 My lord Philip of Nablus you should well recall
 And your good uncle; may it profit you withal.

By God, the Philips twain, Nablus and Ibelin,
 And the uncle of your father, my fair lord Baldwin,
 To no man living bent the head nor bowed the chin;
 And if to five unworthy scoundrels you give in,
 That God who punished and destroyed Cain for his sin,
 May He destroy and punish you, unless you win.

'Fore God, your love affairs of Acre put aside,
 You and Sir Badger, who'd fain wear a leopard's hide.
 For a mean fox, thrown by a steed he could not ride. . . .
 Who hither moveth, even the Lombard this tide. . . .
 And if you love the women they have by their side,
 From the siege take them, Renard and Grimbart beside,
 Who have flung before the Hospital their banner wide.
 All night, armed with their darts and lances, they have spied
 The land's owners, and justice have to us denied.
 The ladies and one single Lombard are inside.
 Coward and recreant one, how can you this abide?
 At sight of them, I call to mind, God be my guide,
 With heart aflame the morrow after Eastertide,
 That each makes himself king, but he doth fourth abide.
 Please God, it is the children's game of seek and hide:
 King one day, on the morn by each his trade is plied.
 I needs must laugh, seeing them at the bailliage:
 Hugh of the wry mouth, who denies his parentage,
 William de Rivet, who esteems himself so sage,
 And with his evil words would all of them assuage,
 And Renard, who has cunning to redeem a gage,
 Amaury and Gauvain, of different lineage.
 Well do you know them all, there is none so full of rage.
 If I sing or rhyme of them, it is no great outrage:
 I am the nightingale, they have shut me in a cage.

Ye must not blame me if I have not set too fine
 A touch upon my rhymes, nor rendered smooth each line:

If I am caged, to end the song 'tis my design
In verses double-rhymed at least, or leonine.

LVI (144). This poem was received at Acre with great joy, and all cried: "Let us go at once to the rescue of the ladies and the Lombard!"¹ Most quickly they prepared themselves; there were many good men and fine ships, and the lord of Beirut supplied all the equipment for the ships and the sergeants, and to the knights he furnished and gave all that they needed. They crossed the sea and arrived at la Castrie.² The five baillies strongly resisted the capture of the port; nonetheless it was taken by force. The five baillies retreated and returned to Nicosia, where they were holding the king under guard. The lord of Beirut and his people sent friendly words to the king and even to the five baillies, saying that they came from the service of God,³ that they desired to return to their homes and their fiefs, and that they were prepared both to do right and to exact their rights; but the five baillies never deigned to answer.

LVII (145). The lord of Beirut and his people rode warily and in closed ranks and came before Nicosia. The five baillies came out from the city and had the common people of the city come out in force; they had all the turcopoliers⁴ of the land and the mercenaries, so that they greatly outnumbered the forces of my lord of Beirut. The clergy put themselves between the two to make peace but this was not to be. The captains of the squadrons surveyed each other and reconnoitered on the one hand and on the other; each placed himself opposite to him whom he most hated, and thus they came together.

¹ Kohler corrected after the reading suggested by G. Paris (*Romania*, XIX [1890], 99). The *Gestes* reads "bon lait"; Amadi (p. 140) says "to the rescue of Dieudamor and the ladies who are there," which is wrong as the ladies were not at that time in Dieudamor.

² Modern Gastria, at the base of the Karpas peninsula, south of Kantara, northeast of Famagusta.

³ That is, they were returning from the crusade in which they had accompanied the emperor.

⁴ Turcopoliers were light armed cavalry recruited from among the mixed Franco-Syrian population. They were a valuable auxiliary force to the heavy armed feudal knights.

The battle was the worst and the most severe that ever was this side of the sea; many were the knights and horses overthrown and the people killed. The battle took place in a plowed land and there was a strong west wind blowing. The dust was so thick that nothing could be seen. In this battle was killed by Sir Gauvain the old lord of Caesarea, who was constable of Cyprus and brother-in-law of my lord of Beirut;¹ and was killed Sir Gerard de Montaigu, who was nephew of both the masters of the Temple and Hospital and of the archbishop of Cyprus, Eustorgue, for his horse lay a long time on his body.²

LVIII. In this battle the children of my lord of Beirut performed marvels of arms, and above all Sir Balian accomplished wonders. The five baillies had chosen twenty-five knights, the most vigorous whom they had in their households, who should attempt to kill my lord of Beirut. My lord of Beirut cut in two the mouth of one of them, for he had no visor on his helm, and with this blow felled him to the ground dead; in this same joust the horse of my lord of Beirut fell into a ditch. The five baillies wore great mitres of gilded metal on their helms for recognition, nevertheless were they conquered and defeated as God willed; and all five escaped. First fled Sir Hugh de Gibelet who led the rear guard.

LIX. When the defeat and flight had been going on for some time and the dust had cleared, while Sir Balian d'Ibelin was in pursuit far ahead, my lord of Beirut found himself alone on the field, and with him I know not how many archers on foot. Against him on the field were of the enemy as many as fifteen knights, the best, who had won through in the fight-

¹ Walter of Caesarea, constable of Cyprus 1210-1229, was the second husband of Marguerite d'Ibelin, sister of John and Philip. Their son was John "the good young lord of Caesarea" who so ably assisted the Ibelins.

² Gerard de Montaigu was—in addition to being the nephew of Peter, Guerin, and Eustorgue—the husband of Eschive de Montbéliard, the daughter of Walter and Bourgogne, sister of Eudes, the bailli. After Gerard's death Eschive married Balian d'Ibelin. The *Annales de Terre Sainte* (p. 438) confirms the deaths of Walter and Gerard in this battle.

ing, and when the dust had settled they recognized him and he recognized them. When the lord of Beirut saw that he was so alone he dismounted and entered by a small gate into a court where was a small church, and his sergeants went with him. Thus he defended himself as best he could, he and his sergeants. They struck with lances those who approached outside the walls to tear them down and force an entry.

LX. As God willed, Sir Anceau de Brie came up at that time on a large and strong horse, covered with iron over which were goodly trappings, and he threw himself on them all and did such feats of arms that he broke his lance and his sword, and even his dagger he broke, and he received so many blows that he could hardly use his hands. Wherefore he put his two arms through the reins, and when some came to tear down the wall, he used his spurs and stopped them from tearing down the wall; so much he did that my lord of Beirut became his dear friend for all his life. And, as God willed, Sir Balian, his son, who had a very great following of knights, when he saw that his father was not there, returned to the field, where as soon as his enemies saw and recognized his standards they were afraid and fled towards the city of Nicosia. Sir Balian, who came in advance of all the others, encountered them most eagerly and struck their standard bearer so hard that he himself fell to the ground, he and his horse falling together; there were many taken and killed, but many escaped due to the fall of Sir Balian.

LXI. Sir Amaury Barlais and Sir Amaury de Bethsan and Sir Hugh de Gibelet secured themselves in the castle of Dieudamor, while Sir Gauvain and his men went to Kantara.¹

¹Kantara is in the Karpas and is the easternmost of the three great castles of the north — Dieudamor, Buffavento, and Kantara. According to *Eracles* (p. 377) William de Rivet was with Barlais and de Bethsan in Dieudamor; Bustron says (p. 78) that de Rivet fled to Buffavento, and Mas Latrie (*Histoire*, I, 259) adds that Novare besieged him there. Philip's own narrative shows that he was not at Buffavento, and there is no evidence to indicate that de Rivet went there. Certainly had Philip won the siege of so important a castle he would not have failed to mention it when he gives such details of the other sieges.

Philip de Novare, who had issued out from the Hospital of St. John, his men with him, did them great damage in the battle, especially those who were in the city. The five baillies above-mentioned had sent for young King Henry just before the battle commenced and had by force put him in the castle of Dieudamor, and there they held him and guarded him as in a prison. The aforementioned battle took place before Nicosia on a Saturday on the fourteenth day of the month of July in the year 1229.¹

LXII (146). The next day after the battle the castles were besieged. My lord of Beirut besieged Cerines,² and his children, Sir Balian and Sir Baldwin and Sir Hugh,³ besieged the castle of Dieudamor. Sir Anceau de Brie besieged Kantara within which was Sir Gauvain. My lord of Beirut, who was besieging Cerines, made a treaty with the Longobards who held the said castle on such terms that if they should not receive succor within a given time they would surrender to him the castle, he would pay them that money which was due them both past and present, and he would conduct them outside of Cyprus, both them and their belongings, safely and securely. Philip de Novare arranged this peace and received the castle at the given time for his lord and conducted the Longobards out of Cyprus.

LXIII (147). Then Philip de Novare made a song and sent it to Acre to the constable. This runs as follows:

To all the world I would in song recite
 The pride and folly, of such high degree
 As no man yet did ever hear or see,
 Of our five baillies, who spurn law and right.

¹ The *Eracles* (p. 377) gives this date as Saturday, June 24; but June 24, 1229, was on a Sunday, whereas July 14 was Saturday. Amadi says (p. 143) June 14; Mas Latrie (*op. cit.*, I, 258) has Saturday, June 23; Röhricht (*Geschichte*, p. 803) gives July 14 following the *Gestes*, with the note that Amadi probably misread the *jugnet* of the *Gestes* as June instead of July.

² Modern Kyrenia or Kerynia on the north coast, directly north of Nicosia.

³ Hugh, third son of John, died without heirs about 1240. Little is known of him.

For justice and its safeguards they ignored :
 They did disseise their peers and their own lord
 Of those fiefs that were theirs ; then they were fain
 Forbid that they to Cyprus come again.

When, guiltless, they had been disseisèd quite,
 Those who were pilgrims came by way of sea
 From Syria, from Acre to Castrie,
 There landing, heedless whom it might despise.
 Then to the king right gently they sent word
 That unto him they came, in fair accord,
 Intent to do right and to right maintain ;
 To listen these five baillies did not deign.

Ere long, their pride brought them to sorry plight.
 Our men upon the plain of Nicossie
 One Saturday did gain the victory,
 Winning back fiefs, homes, honor, by their might.
 The traitors foul were vanquished with the sword.
 Some sought what shelter castles did afford ;

.
 And some were seized, some routed on the plain.

He was the chief and leader of the flight
 Who had the rear-guard in his mastery.
 Seeing the front assailed, he straight did flee
 On his dark steed as swiftly as he might.
 The dolts lost all on that day of discord —
 Lands, honor, kin, and friends that shared their board.
 The fools and knaves together bore the stain :
 Well might they turn monks in their shame and pain.

That day we saw crash down, from lofty height
 To ruin their mad pride and vanity :
 He of the wry face fled disgracefully,
 And many another base and treacherous knight.
 Within the keep of Dieudamor immured,
 They hold as prisoner their lawful lord.
 Judge well : by hangman's rope should they be slain ?
 They have seized him, and his person they restrain.

These rogues who should be torn apart incite
 Some foolish ones to think, by treachery,
 That my lord does a mighty felony,
 Beleaguering the king in scorn of right.

.
 Turned shepherds now are wolves that raged and roared.
 Were the king's uncle guarding him, 'twere vain
 To take him from the keep to sell again.

Go, little biting song, with arrow's flight;
 Even to Syria bear news for me
 To the constable who loves us faithfully,
 And tell him that our business goes aright,
 Thanks be to our Creator and our Lord,

.
 Laughed he so much on seeing Lengaire ta'en:
 I send you his tongue and nose to cleave in twain.

LXIV (148). The lord of Beirut went to the siege of the castle of Dieudamor and camped at the Fountain of the Dragon, and his children were above, before the castle. The castle is in a very strong location in most high mountains and many men were needed in order to besiege it well, for one could go out by many places other than the gate and there was within a large garrison of men both on horse and on foot. Most of those who had escaped from the battle had fled there, and there were many deeds of arms before the walls and often at the gate. Yet had they great suffering therein from famine so that they ate their horses; because of this those outside felt secure, and the knights came and went throughout the land as they saw fit. Whence it happened that the lord of Beirut went to Kantara to see a great trebuchet¹ which Sir Anceau de Brie was having built. And his three sons above named were scattered throughout the country so that too few knights remained at the siege. Those within perceived this and made a sally so strongly that they defeated those who were besieging them and captured the camp of the knights with their food; and if this had not so happened they could not have endured as they did.

¹ The trebuchet was a siege machine worked by counterpoise, and was a more effective and stronger weapon than any earlier machine for throwing projectiles. It was first used in the thirteenth century and seems to have originated in the East, being much used by the Saracens. (See Oman: *The Art of War in the Middle Ages* [2d ed., London, 1924] II, 43-46.)

LXV (149). Sir Balian was at Nicosia with very few knights for it was winter and the knights were on their own lands, where they were idling and making sport. Sir Balian came at the news, recovered the camp, and, spurring up to the gate of the wall, broke his lance on the iron of the wall gate; he had so few strong men that this battle was amazing, and in all the war never was there so great damage as he did that day. Many were the deeds of arms on both sides. His father, the lord of Beirut, who had gone to see the trebuchet which they were making before Kantara, came at the news, and his brothers from where they had been, and all the people of the country came hurriedly. Then it was agreed that Sir Balian should be there one month and an hundred knights with him, as well as a goodly number of foot soldiers; the next month should be there Sir Baldwin, his brother, who was most wise and vigorous, with an hundred knights also; and the third month should be there Sir Hugh, who was one of the finest knights and most strong and pleasing in all the world; thus, as one of the brothers would be there, the others could go where they wished, and each should return for his month.

LXVI. Nearly a year lasted the siege¹ in this way and every day were there deeds of arms. Philip de Novare was one time wounded before the gate of the wall and had many dangerous wounds from lances, arrows, and stones. He was hit one day by the point of a lance which pierced completely through his arm, all of the sleeve of his hauberk and the flesh, so that the lance broke on his side and the broken piece remained with the iron in his arm. Those in the castle cried out: "Your singer is dead, he has been killed!" And his enemies already had seized him by the reins, but his lord succored him and rescued him most vigorously. The evening following he made two couplets in song and sang them loudly. Then they knew well, those of the castle, that he was not dead.

¹ *Eracles* (p. 377) says ten months. The siege began in July, 1229, immediately after the battle of Nicosia and ended sometime after Easter, 1230, which came on April 7.

LXVII (150). This is the poem which Sir Philip de Novare made, when he was wounded at the siege before the castle of Dieudamor:

I am wounded, yet my lips can not close tight
 About Sir Renard and his company —
 Which for his sake is steeped in infamy
 Within Malcreuse, his refuge favorite.
 But if fear for himself doth sway Renard,
 What did the other vassals so untoward?
 And the sergeants? Why be sold? What is their gain?
 Like sheep he makes them patiently remain.

For Renard can bring more of treason's blight
 Than Ganelon, who sold France shamefully.
 He has filled his lair to deal in perfidy,
 Lurking with hope to rule the land and smite.
 Upon them mocking words of peace are poured.
 For shame! To serve a traitor thus abhorred!
 Without, to serve him they taste bitter pain;
 Within, their leaping tests the hangman's skein.

LXVIII (151). Those of the castle of Dieudamor suffered so great famine¹ that on Easter day² they made a great feast on a meagre donkey which they captured. Of this ass Philip de Novare made mention in the poem of Renard and said that they blessed the lamb with large ears and ate it at Easter, as you will find it. Sir Anceau, who was at the siege of Kantara, pressed the castle so closely that it was wondrous to believe what he did; the trebuchet, which he had there, battered down nearly all the walls, but the rock was so strong that it could not be scaled. Those within endured great suffering and loss in that they had thrown away their robes and arms as they fled along the roads when they left the battle, for the battle was fifteen long leagues from the castle.

¹ *Eracles* (p. 377) says: "whereof King Henry, who was within, had great suffering and great lack of food and of clothing, and all those who were with him as well. Wherefore he reproached most often those who held him besieged, appealed to their faith as his liegemen and denounced them as traitors. John d'Ibelin commanded through all the island and caused to be collected the revenues and therewith maintained the war and the siege."

² April 7, 1230.

LXIX. One night it happened that Philip de Novare went with Sir Anceau on guard; and he heard the words of those who were within a small ruined tower which yet remained of the castle, but even without this he knew of their condition, so he made a song which ran thus:

Yest'reen I watched until the break of day,
 Hard by the walls, alone, with no one near;
 High in a tower I heard their woes portray
 Those of Kantara, sorrowful and drear.
 One spake unto another of the crew,
 Saying: "Alas, my lords, what shall we do?
 God curse Renard, he has done us treachery,
 And the false written words of la Castrie,
 That came within before the dawn."

"To sorrow and deep woe we are a prey,"
 Answered another, as I well could hear,
 "We watch by night, at morn without a stay
 We toil, with little food, poor clothes, small gear;
 We make the stone thrower his missiles spew;
 Ours is the pain, we heave and draw and hew.
 If long we are to have such destiny,
 I pray that death this night take you and me,
 Before the coming of the dawn."

"Our friends and kin," I heard another say,
 "Will shed for us full many a bitter tear;
 Soon we shall die, our ovens quake and sway
 'Neath blows from stone-caster and engineer;
 They crush our walls and towers, our houses too.
 How guard ourselves, if they attack anew?
 Of arms our men have piteous scarcity;
 The walls will give us no more guaranty.
 Let us flee hence before the dawn."

"Oven and mill are battered clear away;
 Herein to linger would be folly sheer.
 Lying to us with purpose to betray,
 Dieudamor's baillies make of truth a jeer.
 They have stolen, by treachery of blackest hue,
 The king, whom they had sworn to give unto
 Ourselves; then made us fight at Nicossie:

'Twas death for us, for them security.
Ah, may they never see the dawn!"

"The help of Eastertide doth long delay;
We are undone and lost to hope, I fear.
When we first saw the emperor, 'twas a day
Of grief; we must cry grace, or pay it dear."
"Could we but find it," said he, "that is true;
But small grace would they give us, should we sue.
Far better if to Turkey we might flee;
But watchmen here without watch narrowly
All through the night until the dawn."

When Gauvain saw his men in such dismay,
It made his heart to change, his plan to veer.
Sighing, he said to them: "Fair sirs, I may
Find me no messenger who will from here
Boldly go forth and bear a message through.

.
In Syria and Cyprus still there be
Those whom our death would sorrow grievously."
And thereon showed itself the dawn.

When I had heard their woebegone parley,
Back to our sergeants I made swift career,
And to them I recounted, blithe and gay,
That pain and strife racked Kantara, 'twas clear.
And since one of my comrades asked me to

.
So did I, so the tale of misery
Was heard. When it was done and rang forth free,
Then everywhere shone bright the dawn.

LXX (152). In this siege it happened that the young lord of Caesarea, son of him who had been killed at the battle of the five baillies before Nicosia, had established and lodged his men in the neighborhood of a sharp rock which was very close to the castle and caused them to shoot from there by day and by night. And he had a most clever arbalester who clearly recognized Sir Gauvain when he moved about in the castle. So diligently he watched that he succeeded in killing him with an arrow; and his cousin Sir William de Rivet had

gone to Armenia for help and there died. Then became captain of Kantara Philip Chenart,¹ who was brother of Sir Gauvain by his mother and was a quick and untiring young man. Those within concealed the death of Sir Gauvain but the arbalester said that he had surely struck him down.

LXXI. Those of the castles were not able to endure more and so made peace, to which my lord of Beirut willingly consented in order to secure the king, for he feared that he would be taken out of the castle by night to some place and sent to Apulia. The end was that those within delivered the king — who was his nephew — his sisters, and the castles to the lord of Beirut, and swore that against him or his children or those of his party they would never be; and he [the lord of Beirut] and his children swore for all their party to them [the besieged]² that they would always keep with them an honest peace. It was also agreed that the family of Sir Gauvain should leave Cyprus because it was said that he had slain the constable, but that they should retain their fiefs³ and should be conducted safely and securely out of the country. This peace was made by a valiant brother of the Hospital who was named Brother William de Teneres⁴ and was very close to my lord of Beirut. When the king issued out of the castle great was the celebration and great was the rejoicing, and there were goodly gifts. Sir Anceau and Philip de Novare and the knight who had been attacked who was named Toringuel did not wish to be present at the peace nor ever more did they speak to their enemies above named but they accepted the peace to do the will of their lord.

¹ Philip Chenart was one of the Syrian lords who accompanied Isabelle de Brienne to Italy in 1225 (H-B. II, 536. — Cynard.), but little is known of him before the defense of Kantara. He later rose to great heights in the imperial service in Italy and Corfu. (See below, par. CXXXVIII, note 1.)

² Amadi (p. 145) adds "to restore their fiefs."

³ Amadi (p. 145) adds "and should delegate someone who should receive the revenues for them."

⁴ William de Teneres appears on a charter of September, 1231, as Preceptor of the Hospital of Acre, and on one of November, 1232, as Grand Prior of France (Delaville Le Roulx, *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre de St. Jean de Jérusalem*, II, Docs. 1996, 2036).

LXXII. While this peace was being made Philip was sent for, and he was at Limassol in a ship wherein he was to go as a messenger overseas to the pope, the king of France, the king of England, and the five kings of Spain,¹ to tell, repeat, and make complaint of the great evils and outrages which the emperor Frederick and the people in his suite had committed in Cyprus and in Syria.² As soon as the peace was made Philip wished to make a song in rhyme concerning it but the lord of Beirut did not wish to suffer it. However, with some reluctance he permitted him to make an episode of the Renard, in which he named the several beasts. He referred to the lord of Beirut as Yzengrim, to his children as his wolves, to Sir Anceau de Brie as the bear, to himself as Chanticleer the cock, and to Sir Toringuel as Timbert the cat; all these beasts are of the party of Yzengrim in the stories of Renard. Sir Amaury [Barlais] he depicted as Renard, Sir Amaury [de Bethsan] as Grimbart, the badger, and Sir Hugh as the monkey; and once before he had thus called them as you have heard, and these beasts are of the party of Renard in the stories themselves.

LXXIII. This is the poem of Renard, how Yzengrim defeated him:

Renard hath been at war so long a tide
That burned and wasted is the countryside;
He hath encountered much adventuring,
Which to him bitterness and pain did bring.
Well-nigh had Renard had his mortal blow,
When Yzengrim the wolf had laid him low,
And had beleaguered him within Malcreuse,
A stronghold which was then of Renard's use.
With naught to eat and naught to fill a glass,
Now is he come upon an evil pass.
If Noble had not been of the debate,

¹ Pope Gregory IX, 1227-41; King Louis IX, 1226-70 (at this time Blanche of Castille was regent); King Henry III, 1216-72; Ferdinand III of Castile; Alfonso IX of Leon; Sancho IV of Navarre; James I of Aragon; Sancho II of Portugal.

² Amadi (p. 146) adds "but when peace was made he abandoned his going and [the lord of Beirut] did not send him."

Renard would have been slaughtered with his mate.
 But God, who doth all goodly blessings send,
 Granted that this contention should have end,
 That Renard of his woes should have surcease.
 Yet not too well assurèd was the peace,
 But of a weakling and a sickly hue.
 Renard and Grimbart and the monkey too
 There are, and have no other company:
 With Renard counted in, they are but three;
 Betrayed by his companions at arms,
 When peace had put an end to war's alarms.
 This can one justly and assuredly
 Call by that foulest name of treachery.
 Once only Renard suffered from such crimes,
 While he himself lied more than an hundred times.
 And the three folk whose names I here record
 Have not with each and every made accord,
 But made their peace with Yzengrim alone
 And with the wolfings whom he calls his own;
 And these young wolfings, I declare to you,
 Did not achieve all that they sought to do,
 When that they had perforce to make an end
 Of strife; Renard will never be their friend.
 For when he played the leech, he was the cause
 That they were caught within the wolf-trap's jaws,
 And he bepissed them in the wolfings' lair:
 Sore will they grieve unless he pay it dear.
 For them to seek redress is meet and right:
 God hate them if they ever love that wight!
 Still set about with fierce contention,
 He has not made his peace with everyone.
 My lord the bear, Timbert the cat also,
 Promise to smite him, and to lay him low;
 And furthermore, Sir Chanticleer the cock,
 Who of the chessboard is a very rock,
 Oft times through his domain doth pass along
 And singeth loud of wolf-traps in his song;
 And chanting rhymes to all who care to list,
 Recounteth how the wolf-cubs were bepissed.
 Sir Chanticleer resharpeneth his spur:
 If any baron, so he doth aver,
 Will dare assail and fall upon Renard,
 He, Chanticleer, will aid him and smite hard.

Now Renard is at court, as ye may see,
 And fain would honoured and respected be.
 To Yzengrim he draweth very close:
 Almost to be his cousin now he grows;
 The wolflings one by one he warmly greets,
 Embracing every wolfling that he meets.
 Renard makes much ado and stir at court;
 Unheartily he laughs and makes disport,
 And telling of his tales, he much doth name
 Redounding to his honour and his shame:
 His words are filled with war and battle sound:
 He hews, he cleaves them, adding wound to wound.
 The bear bestows on him a surly glance,
 Sir Timbert, too, the cat, views him askance,
 And queries what his next misdeed will be.
 Makes answer Chanticleer: "Now shall we see
 Whether Sir Renard takes us for a goat!"

Renard, a-fevered, of all this makes note;
 He dreads the bear, whom he in days gone by
 Had caused to tumble far and woefully.
 Small wonder 'tis that he with terror quakes
 And with his cousin, Grimbert, counsel takes,
 And tells him how his heart doth pain him sore:
 "Cousin," cries he, "Woe's me! I'm at death's door!"
 His pulse beats hard, his face turns pale and white:
 He has the deathly sickness known as fright.
 Within his own house Renard seeks repose,
 And by his side Grimbert the badger goes,
 And goes the monkey too, Sir Cointereau,
 Sir Renardin the leprous goes also,
 And Malebranche and Perchay there came,
 And likewise Hermeline, his noble dame:
 They one and all rushed frantic to his side:
 "Tell us, my lord, what woe doth now betide?"
 "Ye see my state," quoth he, "so do not stay,
 Go fetch me now the priest without delay!"
 When they had heard his words, this ribald crew
 Believed beyond a doubt that he spoke true,
 That of his death he stood in mortal dread,
 That soon their goodly master would be dead.
 But this is all deceit and trickery,
 Now one must guard himself most carefully:
 We lose unwillingly that art which best

We know, till plumes are ravished from our crest.

Renard the tricker, of his plumes bereft,
 Well schooled in every trickery and theft,
 Has meditated most perfidiously
 A plot made up of mighty trickery,
 For, by a semblance of confession,
 He will forgive and ask remission
 Of all folk, since he is about to die,
 Lest others suffer shame or wrong thereby,
 Even of him who trod him down, the bear,
 To whom he hath paid proper toll and fair,
 Of Timbert and of Chanticleer as well,
 Who seek his harm with purpose frank and fell.
 Well knows he that unless their wrath he soothe,
 His path in life will not be safe or smooth,
 But he doth greatly covet time and place
 When he may once again begin apace;
 He would rekindle willingly the fire,
 Had he but time and place to his desire.
 And so, "Seek out the priest," is now his word:
 He asketh for the body of Our Lord.
 The Saviour now arrived, as ye may see,
 Sir Renard, master of all trickery,
 With friends around to prop him and sustain,
 Says that to make confession he is fain:
 "Lord, in Your holy presence I confess —
 Whence cometh every kind of goodliness —
 I would confess, I say, that Yzengrim
 I never loved, and never shall love him;
 And when erstwhile I took the oath, God wot,
 If I by chance the upper hand had got,
 No other grace for him did I intend
 Than I bestowed upon his every friend.
 His wolfings bitterly I hate and dread,
 And all his family from its fountainhead,
 And that I showed them on a bygone day,
 But do not counsel me this year, I pray.
 Fallen in an evil pit and brought to shame,
 Failing all else, repentance I proclaim.
 My master now is Yzengrim, from whom
 Terror and sorrow both must be my doom.
 Now Noble here is out of mastery:
 And here indeed faileth my trickery.

With him his little wolflings kick and rear,
 And I have never known them, 'twould appear.
 Henceforth, since I can do them no more ill,
 Fore God, I leave off, now my strength is nil.
 One thing I have, which giveth me great ease,
 That they with me right well will keep their peace,
 But had I time and place to my desire,
 I'd burn myself with them in blazing fire.
 To many an one I have done grievous ill,
 Yet of misdeed I have not had my fill.
 Still God, who knows my heart and inward thought,
 May pardon me the evils I have wrought.
 By God, my lord the bear has smote me down
 And on my back left shame and ill renown.
 If I on Timbert have brought suffering,
 He first had done me many an evil thing.
 Have Chanticleer come here at your command:
 Fore God, he rideth freely through my land:
 To be in amity with him I'm fain,
 For all that he hath given me great pain.
 I pardon them, now let them pardon me,
 By these two hands which clasped here ye see.
 And if I had no other power of yore,
 Henceforth I can wage war on them no more;
 Yet if I could but seize them, by some art,
 I'd make them know of it with all my heart."

In haste they send word to the cock, to say
 That to the pardon he should come straightway.
 The cock replies: "Say to him in God's name,
 That if he dies, let him be quit of blame;
 However, I know well his malady
 Is naught but base deceit and villainy.
 If only my lord Yzengrim be wise,
 He will deal with him in the self-same guise
 That the Greek falconer is wont to use:
 If he to feed him rightly do not choose,
 He will grow proud and masterful withal;
 Let him but come in answer to the call.
 Sorely it grieveth me, that by mishap,
 He hath escaped scot-free from out the trap.
 Strange things at Eastertide by his behest
 Were brought about, when daringly he blest
 And then devoured the lamb with the great ears.

There was no danger then, nor cause for fears;
 But now, if we watch not with careful eye,
 Again he'll fool us with his trickery."
 No more the messenger could make him say;
 To Renard he returned without delay,
 And so related to him word for word
 The answer and the counsel he had heard.
 Thereupon Renard to the chaplain spake:
 "I die tonight, or else when dawn doth break.
 If I could but escape from this distress,
 I should achieve repose and quietness.
 I pardon and shall pardon all, God wot,
 Upon such time as I rise from this spot.
 Shrive me, my lord, I pray thee in God's name;
 I've sinned so many more sins, to my shame,
 That even should I live an hundred years,
 I could not pour them all into your ears."

The priest now gives him absolution,
 But it was only on condition,
 That he come to him, should he 'scape anew.
 "I will," quoth he, "and to another, too,
 Who will be sorely grieved when he has heard,
 I promise I shall go and speak a word."
 Thereon the priest vouchsafeth him to take
 That which in him ought never entrance make;
 He taketh it upon an hour of ill.
 Jesus departeth, Renard remaineth still,
 Full of deceitfulness and evil art.
 The devil had in him a mighty part:
 He had great wickedness within his hide;
 He is and will be, while he doth abide,
 A traitor steeped in foul corruption
 Until his mean and wretched soul is gone.

LXXIV (154). After the peace the good lord of Beirut and his children conferred great goods, great honors, and great reverence on their enemies, and gave them horses, robes, arms, and other presents, and they sought their company, dressed in the same garments, pleased themselves together, and held nothing in their hearts of that which had been. But their enemies guarded and retained their foolish desires and well they revealed them as soon as they were able. Philip de Novare

had well divined and devised in the poem of Renard that which occurred afterwards. Sir Amaury Barlais was most assured and made great efforts to be in the company of, and to feast with, the lord of Beirut and his children; he called him his lord and his father, and Sir Balian he called his brother, and very often he spoke of the battle which had occurred and of the siege, so that he was mistrusted, for to recall greatly one's shame is ignoble and base.

LXXV. One day was the court fully attended and Sir Amaury Barlais and all his company were there. Last of all entered the court together Sir Anceau de Brie, Philip de Novare, and Toringuel. Sir Amaury eyed them closely and saw that they were taking counsel together, and he was much afraid, wherefore he said that he was so sick that he was dying. At this he went from the court, he and his men, to his house, and at once had himself confessed and took communion saying that he pardoned all people and that he wished to ask mercy of the three above named, for he feared them greatly because they were not present at the peace and had never sworn thereto. He sent men of religion who prayed them that they come to him; they did not wish to go, but they replied to him that if he died he would be quits with them; and this was before the said poem was made and for this Philip mentioned it in the poem.

LXXVI (156). Sir Amaury and his party sent word to the emperor, as has been said, of that which had happened and they sent great excuses for the peace which had been made. And they sent word to him that they were still in possession of their fiefs and held a great part of the land, and that if he would send them a small force they would subdue once more those who were his enemies and their own; many times they sent, it was said, and in the end they found that which they sought.¹

¹ The *Eracles* (p. 380) includes here an incident which Philip de Novare omits entirely but which has a distinct bearing on the history of the struggle with the emperor. The incident occurred in 1229 and the account in the *Eracles*

LXXVII (158). In the year 1231 when the emperor Frederick had made peace with the Church and had recovered all that he had lost in Apulia,¹ it happened that the above mentioned emperor Frederick, who greatly hated Cyprus and Syria,² sent to Cyprus and Syria a great host of his barons of Apulia and Sicily and all those whom he hated most and whom he feared; it was said that there were fully six hundred knights, an hundred mounted squires, seven hundred foot soldiers, full three thousand seamen armed, and a very great and goodly navy of ships and transports as well as thirty-two galleys. Of this host the captain was Sir Richard Filanger, marshal of the Empire.³ My lord of Beirut, who was at Acre,⁴

is as follows: "At the time that the emperor had left the land of Syria and Cyprus, Alice queen of Cyprus, mother of King Henry, came to Acre and demanded the kingdom of Jerusalem as the most legal heir who was apparent of King Amaury, her grandfather. The men of the country took counsel and replied to her that they were the men of the emperor Frederick, who held the land in baillage for his son Conrad, for which reason they were not able to do as she requested. But because they had never seen this Conrad his son, nor had he ever been present in the realm, they sent word to the emperor that within a year he should send his son Conrad to them. If he sent him they would keep him as their lord, or if not that, they would do for him that which they should; to make this request to the emperor they sent as messengers two knights. The one was Geoffrey le Tor, who was born in the country, and the other was John de Bailluel, who was born in Flanders. These two crossed into Apulia in a galley and arrived at Brindisi, and from there they went on until they found the emperor at San Lorenzo where he was going towards Capua, as you have heard. There they gave him their message to which he replied that he would do within the term that which he should."

¹ Frederick had made peace with Pope Gregory at San Germano in 1230.

² This is obviously a somewhat prejudiced statement. The *Eracles* (pp. 383-86) gives as an additional reason for Frederick's sending the expedition the troubles which the Jerusalemites were having in maintaining their control over the city of Jerusalem. The Saracens were molesting them and not respecting the treaty; the citizens of Jerusalem appealed to the emperor's baillies, who in turn appealed to the emperor. But while Frederick sent the fleet in part to reestablish his control over the Holy City, the suppression of the Ibelins was the chief cause for the dispatch of the expedition.

³ Richard Filanger was one of Frederick's trusted officers. He was appointed imperial legate in the East and bailli in Cyprus and Syria. A letter of Gregory IX, dated August 12, 1231, to the Syrian clergy and people requests that they accept Filanger as the bailli of Frederick, king of Jerusalem, not as imperial legate. (*MGH. Epis.* I, 363-64.)

⁴ According to the statement of John d'Ibelin of Jaffa (*Assises*, I, 325), Balian of Sidon, acting on the orders of the emperor, had disseised the lord of Beirut of all his possessions in the kingdom of Jerusalem. Philip de Novare (*Assises*,

when he heard tell of the coming of these men, from the men of a ship of the Hospital of the Teutons which came to Acre,¹ at once collected as many people as he was able and took with him a great part of his garrison, of which he had cause to repent thereafter.

LXXVIII. He came into Cyprus and at once summoned all the people to arms, and they came to Limassol. Sir Balian, his son, and his troops came first of all;² and in the hour when they came the fleet of the Longobards arrived in Cyprus at Cape Gavata, which is near Limassol.³ Young King Henry of Cyprus and my lord of Beirut were on the road, and when they heard the news they hurried so that there were many horses foundered. Yet they came in great haste, and when they were together there were many goodly folk on horse and on foot; they made a most fine array, and there were found in arms both friends and enemies about five hundred knights, and many there were of mounted squires and turcopoliers.

LXXIX. The Longobards feared them and did not yet dare to descend, for the shore was so well defended that they were able to command neither the land nor the waters. They sent a messenger on land, and many were the words spoken on both sides.⁴ My lord of Beirut kept always the right before him

I, 528) says he was disseised of his fiefs in Acre. John of Jaffa, Rohard of Caïphas, Philip l'Asne, the lord of Caesarea, and others were likewise disseised by Balian. As the action was not done by the court, but only by the bailli, it was illegal and the barons supported the disseised in their efforts to retain their fiefs.

¹ *Eracles* (p. 386) says that a spy employed by Ibelin came on the ship from Brindisi, which would seem logical as the Teutons were themselves closely allied with the emperor.

² *Eracles* (p. 386) says that Ibelin and the king went to la Quit (Kiti, near Larnaca) with a few knights while most of the knights and sergeants assembled at Limassol under Balian.

³ The fleet came in two sections: the first part arrived at Cape Gavata while the second was still at Brindisi. Filanger himself came only after the first part of his men had already invested Beirut.

⁴ The *Eracles* (pp. 386-87) gives a more detailed account of the negotiations, which runs as follows: "At this time there arrived in Limassol two galleys in which were the bishop of Melfi and two knights who had their fiefs at Acre. The one was Aymon l'Aleman and the other John de Bailleul who was a Fleming. They sought the king that they might speak to him. To which they were

and spoke so humbly that his friends were angered thereby. The Longobards and Sir Amaury Barlais conferred very often together, and that by night, and well was it known; well could he have been censored therefor had it been so desired, but the noble lord would not suffer it and said that he might as well be speaking of good as of evil, and if he wished to do evil that he would suffer it until it should be apparent that he had perjured himself and broken the peace. For if he [Ibelin] took action because of a thing which was of words alone, it could be said that he had perjured himself, since there is too great a difference between speech and deeds. They could not shake his resolution; it was said in truth that he [Barlais] should be slain in his tent by night while abed. The lord of Beirut was afearred of this so he lodged him in a house and had him there guarded.

LXXX (159). The Longobards knew that they would not be able to descend safely, so they waited a good time¹ and then departed by night and went directly to Beirut by night,

told that he was at la Quit. They parted from Limassol in their galleys and went to la Quit, there where the king was camped.

"When they came there they said to the king in the presence of the lord of Beirut: 'Our lord the emperor sends you word, as to one who is his vassal, that you dismiss and require to leave your land John d'Ibelin, his children, his nephews, and his relatives, for they have done wrong. Wherefore he sends you his orders, and forbids you as his vassal to harbor or shelter him in your land.' The king, who was a child and under age, took counsel and had answer made them by a knight who was his vassal, named William Viscount, who said to them: 'Lords, the king has commanded and charged me that I should say to you that he greatly marvels that your lord the emperor made such a command to him, for the lord of Beirut is his own uncle by his mother, and it is well known that he and his nephew and part of his relatives are his vassals, wherefore he cannot fail them, and, saving the grace of the emperor, the king can not and ought not do that which you have told us. If he were to do it he would act wrongly towards them.' After this, John d'Ibelin rose and said to the king: 'Sire, I am your vassal, so I pray you that you support me according to the right, since I am ready to give right and to take right before you and in your court if anyone asks it.' On this the messengers rose and said to the king: 'Sire, you have heard that which we have said on behalf of the emperor and we have heard your answer.' Wherewith they departed at once and went to their galleys and mounted therein and went to Gavata where their *salanders* lay."

¹ *Eracles* (p. 387) says that they tarried there awaiting the coming of Marshal Filanger.

taking the city unawares. The bishop surrendered to them as might a timid priest.¹ They besieged the castle,² pressing it most closely, and they found it lacking in men, for the lord of Beirut, who had taken no guard against this, had carried the greater part of the garrison into Cyprus; this same had the Longobards learned when they were in Cyprus, and because of this had they decided to go to Beirut. The castle was well supplied with meats, wines, and arms but there were few men. The Longobards had plenty of sailors and engineers and construction timber and iron and lead and that which was necessary to make engines, so they made them both great and small and the engines heavily attacked the castle.

LXXXI. And there was with them a traitor who was named Denis; he had been seneschal of the lord of Beirut and master of all the castle and he knew thoroughly the disposition of the people. He showed them how to place the engines where they would do the greatest damage, and in the end he won such guerdon that he was hanged by the neck as a traitor. The siege closed in on the castle for there were few defenders; the fosse of the castle, which was one of the finest in the world, was taken. And at the base of the fosse they made a street entirely covered and with a tower of great timbers, and they mined the castle in many places; outside the castle, in a place called Chaufor, the Longobards made a castle of stones with wood above, which surmounted and uncovered all the castle and caused great damage to those within. This same [plan] was sent to them from Cyprus advising that they should do thus, for the traitors who had sent it knew that the lord of Beirut feared much this high place.³

¹ Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica*, lists Gualeranus as bishop of Beirut in 1233 and 1245. He may be the bishop who surrendered in 1230.

² According to Jauna, *Histoire de Chypre* (I, 536, 539), John Goneme was in command of the castle of Beirut.

³ The *Eracles* (pp. 388-92) records occurrences in Acre omitted by Novare which have a direct bearing on the narrative, as follows:

"When the marshal had been a while at Beirut he went to Acre with only a small force. When he had come there he assembled all the knights and the burgesses. As soon as they were all assembled within the castle of the great

LXXXII (160). The news came to Cyprus that at this point the castle was besieged, and winter was already strongly set in. The lord of Beirut came into the court before the young King Henry, his lord and his nephew. In so great number was the court assembled that all were there, friends and

palace he had letters read in their presence, letters which were sealed with gold and which came on the part of the emperor Frederick to all those of the realm, in which were contained many fine words and amiable ones. Among other things he said: 'I have sent you the marshal of the Empire, Richard Filanger, legate on my behalf, to be bailli of the kingdom, to maintain right and justice, and to guard in their rights the great and the small, the rich and the poor.' When these letters were read, Richard rose and said: 'Lords, you have heard the letters of my lord the emperor, and all just as they say he has commanded me. And I am ready to act by the counsel of the noble men of the land.' If the conduct and the deeds had been such as were the words and the letters, the men of the land would have been well content and they would have received him as bailli; but he had hardly arrived in the country when his actions were quite otherwise. So he revealed his heart and thoughts, how that he was haughty and proud and was not well furnished with sense; wherefore the men of the country perceived that his intent was to destroy everything and to reduce all to naught. When they had perceived this and were certain of his bad will, they assembled and took counsel, and by agreement they came before Marshal Richard. Whereupon Balian, the lord of Sidon, said: 'They have charged me that I shall say to you for them and for myself a word: you should know that when this land was conquered it was not by any chief lord, but it was conquered by the crusaders and by the action of the pilgrims and the people assembled. When they had conquered it they made a lord by agreement and by election, and they gave him the lordship of the kingdom, and afterwards they made, by the agreement and the knowledge of the whole people, *établissements* and *assises*, which they wished should be held and used in the realm for the safety of the lord and the other people and to preserve right; and then they swore to maintain them and caused the lord so to swear. And from then until now all the lords who have been in the realm have sworn it and so also has the emperor sworn. In these, among the other *établissements* and *assises*, there is this *assise*, that the lord is not able and ought not to disseise his vassal without the consent of the court; it is well known that the lord of Beirut is the vassal of the emperor. And in that you, who are in the place of the emperor to guard the land and to maintain right, have put your hand on his tenement and have disseised him of the city of Beirut and the surrounding lands, and have besieged his castle without the decision of the court and without the judgment thereof, therefore we require you, by right and by reason, in order to save the oath and faith of our lord the emperor, that you and your men depart from Beirut whereof the lord of Beirut will be replaced in seisin. If you wish to demand or claim anything of him, have him summoned by the usage of the kingdom and decide it by the judgment of the court. If by the decision of the court it shall be due, we are ready to aid you and to put our strength to enforcing that it shall be amended.'

"When Marshal Richard heard this speech he marveled much how they dared say it to him, for he did not believe that anyone would dare to contradict the things which he wished to do, but now he saw well that the thing was not going and would not go as he had thought. Nevertheless he concealed his heart since

enemies. He arose and stood — he had a habit of crossing his legs when he was standing — and, as he knew so well to do, he spoke loudly and to the point. He said: “Sire, I have never reproached you for my services or for those of my family

he could do no better. Wherefore he said to them that he could not reply to them concerning this until he should have had counsel with the magnates of the emperor who had come with him and who were at Beirut; but he would go there and would hold council with them and they should send there to him for his reply. With this he departed the morning of the morrow and went to Beirut. And when he came there he distrained and pressed the castle closer than he had done before.

“Balian of Sidon, John of Caesarea, Eudes de Montbéliard, Garnier l’Aleman, and the other knights of the kingdom sent two knights to Beirut to ask the reply of the marshal, as he had promised them. Of whom one of the knights was Renaud de Caiphas, chamberlain of the kingdom, and the other was Daniel de Molembec. When these two had come to Beirut they informed the marshal that they had come to him for the reply to that which the vassals of the emperor had said and required of him. His reply was this: ‘Lords, I inform you that I am the vassal of the emperor, and I am held to do his commands, wherefore I wish that each should know that I will not violate them while I am able, in any thing which is so reasonable (for it is known how John d’Ibelin conducted himself and behaved towards the emperor), and this the more because I am only the servant and the emperor is the lord. If among yourselves you feel that the emperor does to you things which he ought not, send messengers to him and he is so good and loyal a lord that he will make amends as he should.’ The messengers returned to Acre and repeated the reply of the marshal to those who had sent them.

“When the men of the kingdom heard the reply, they perceived that the will of the marshal was indeed such as they had been forced to believe, wherefore they thought that, if they did not take counsel for themselves concerning their actions, they would be in an evil pass. Whereupon the most wise and the most foresighted of them took counsel together, and they saw that they would have no recourse but this — that they should all bind themselves together by oath to guard and maintain their rights and privileges and the franchises of the kingdom. Then they remembered that in the country was a brotherhood which was called the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, which had been established by King Baldwin and confirmed by his privilege. In this brotherhood there were *établissements*, devises, and by-laws among their privileges, and among the other rules was this that all those who wished to join the brotherhood could do so and that those of the brotherhood could receive them. Then assembled the magnates and the knights and the burgesses, and when they were together, they sent to seek the councillors of the brotherhood and its privileges. When they had come there, they caused to be read the two privileges and afterwards they swore to the brotherhood; then swore to the brotherhood the most of the people, who most willingly did it because of the fear which they had of the malice of Marshal Richard; and thus were they all bound to one another. Then was word of this sent to Cyprus to inform John d’Ibelin. When he heard of the actions in Acre of the men of the kingdom, in the manner which you have heard, he was much pleased thereby, and it seemed indeed that this was great aid to him in maintaining his position.”

towards your father and you; now I must needs do so and I shall compare myself, for all it may be that I am unworthy thereof, to William of Orange who, when he had need of succoring his nephews at Candia, reproached his lord King Louis for all the service which he had rendered him.¹

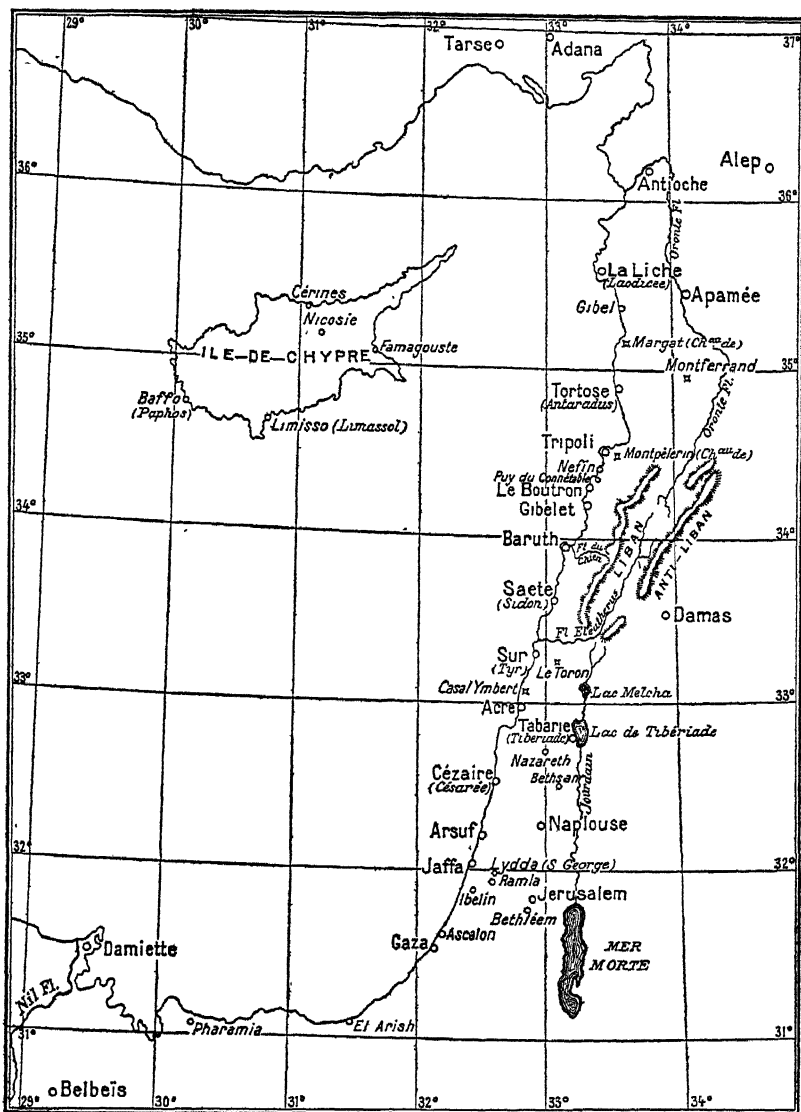
LXXXIII. "I can well say and I have sufficient guarantees therefor, that by me and by my family was your father lord and held the land; and if we had not supported him he would have been disinherited or dead. When God made his commandment of him you were but nine months old and we nourished you, you and your land, thank God, until this day; for had we not given you freely of our own, the duke of Austria would have disinherited you,² and twice you have been in as bad state or worse; if we had wished to desert you and the kingdom of Cyprus and that of Syria the emperor would readily have suffered us to hold Beirut in peace.

LXXXIV. "Now it has happened that the Longobards have taken my city and besieged my castle so closely that it is in danger of being lost, and ourselves and all our Syrian men disinherited. Wherefore I pray you, by God and by your honor, for our great services and because we are of one blood and nourished by a common motherland, and you are together with us, and I pray also of all the others who are here present as my brothers and my close friends, that you come in person in all your power with me to succor my castle." At this the lord of Beirut was silent and knelt as if to kiss the foot of the king. The king arose to his feet and all the others knelt, and the king and all the others said that they agreed willingly and would place their bodies and their goods at his service.³ The lord of Beirut thanked them much. Then he stood up, he

¹ The reference is to William of Orange, the hero of *Aliscans* and other feudal epics, who sought assistance to help his nephews in the *Roman de Foulque de Candie* (end of the third chanson).

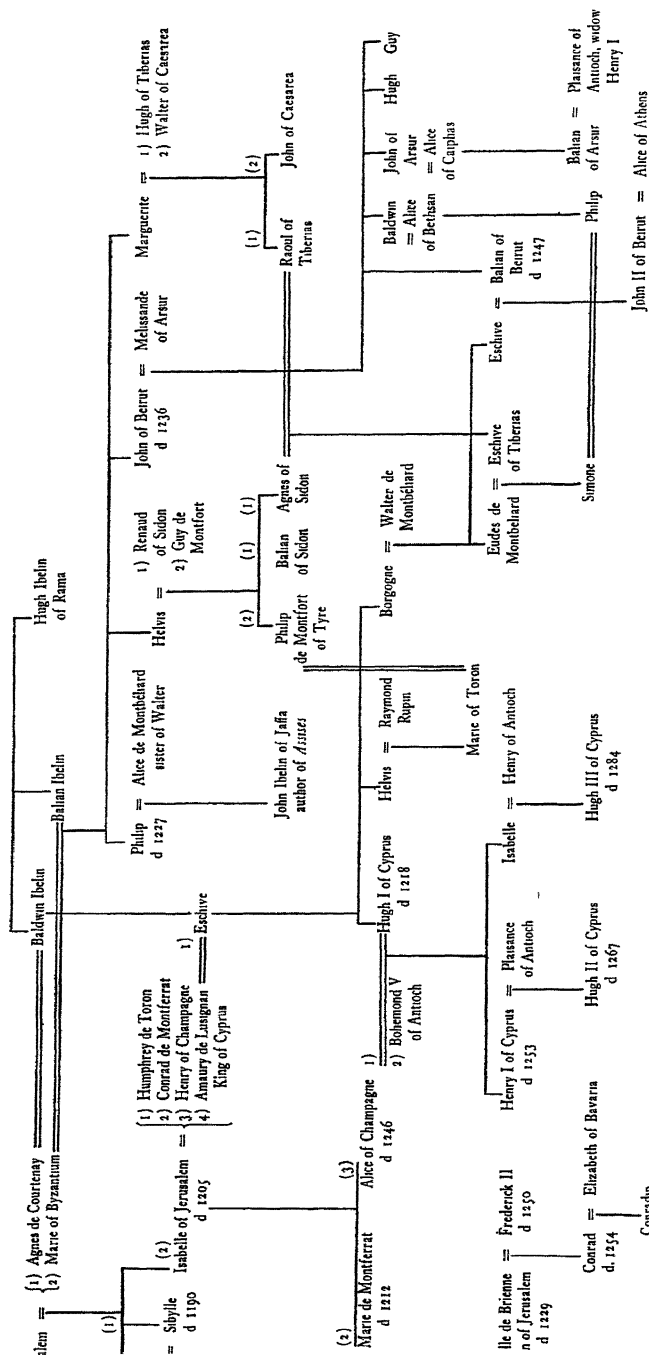
² Leopold of Austria had had designs on the throne of Cyprus during the Fifth Crusade.

³ *Eracles* (p. 392) says that there were some who jealously refused to assist.



The Meridian is East from Paris

SYRIA AND PALESTINE



ABBREVIATED AND CONDENSED GENEALOGY TO SHOW THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE HOUSES OF JERUSALEM, CYPRUS, IBELIN, MONTBELLARD, SIDON, CAESAREA, TIBERIAS AND MONTFORT

and all the others, on their feet, for they were still on their knees.

HOW THE LORD OF BEIRUT AND THE CYPRIOTS WITH HIM CAME FROM NICOSIA TO FAMAGUSTA TO CROSS TO SYRIA

LXXXV (161). The journey was undertaken most vigorously and this was about the feast of Christmas [1231]. Soon they came to the port of Famagusta. The weather was so bad and so severe that they could hardly pass across the plain of Famagusta, and many were the things lost on the way. A long time they remained in the port because of the bad weather, and in the end they set out at the close of the troubled season and at the turn of the moon,¹ and they did not leave any captains in Cyprus. The people talked much of this. Philip de Novare made known to the lord of Beirut that there was talk of it, and he replied saying: "If I do not start now I know well that the castle will be lost and all the country after it. If God gives me grace to pass over, all will be recovered and there will be great honor; if Our Lord wills that I die, may it be on the way, for I prefer to die before I know my loss than after. Nor ever, if God pleases, in my time shall be lost the land of my lord or mine own."

LXXXVI. "And in that some blame me that I do not leave any captain in Cyprus, I will tell you why.² I might leave that person who might win everything where we are going; many times has it happened that by one noble man was everything won and for lack of one noble man was all lost, and we are going in such manner and to such a place that everything will be on the boards. If we conquer, Cyprus will not need any captains; if we lose, it will be ended with us and the captain who would be in Cyprus could only hold out for a little time, and

¹ The "close of the troubled season" refers to the equinox. The *Eracles* (p. 392) says they departed the first day of Lent, which in 1232 was February 25.

² This means any great and important captain. Arneis de Gibelet, the bailli of the Secrète of Cyprus, was left as captain of the island during the absence of Ibelin and the King (*Eracles*, p. 399). According to Jauna (*Histoire de Chypre*, I, 537, 545) Philip de Novare was himself left as governor of Cyprus, a manifest error.

after he would perish, for I do not know in all Christendom where he would find refuge. For this I do not wish that any one of my family who bears the name of Ibelin should remain. If we conquer, each will have his part in the honor and profits; if we lose, we will all die together and for God in our rightful heritage, there where most of my relatives have been born and died."

LXXXVII. Philip de Novare listened well and willingly to this reason; and he went away from him and repeated all this to the many people who waited for him outside; whereupon each one said and cried out: "Well he says, the noble man. Let us go for God." The enemies above named,¹ who were with them under cover of peace and love, endeavored by ruses to cause delay and thought to secure themselves in the castle of la Castrie which belongs to the Temple. Often was this repeated to the lord of Beirut, and he was advised that he should have them captured but he did not ever wish to do this; always he said that he would wait until their evilness should be known and apparent, and Our Lord would lend aid to the right.

HOW THE CYPRIOTS CROSSED THE SEA SAFE AND SOUND AND CAME TO PUY DU CONSTABLE IN TRIPOLI

LXXXVIII (162). By night all departed together, friends and enemies, and there was very bad weather and heavy rain, as God willed. The weather drove them to Puy du Constable in Tripoli,² and safe and secure they reached port. From there fled the enemies above named with their retinues — there were full eighty knights — and they went to the other party, to Beirut to the Longobards.³ Much the host murmured

¹ That is, Barlais, de Bethsan, and de Gibelet.

² Puy du Constable was on the coast between Botron and Nefin.

³ The *Eracles* (p. 393) says that Filanger sent a galley to Tripoli to bring them to Beirut and adds: "The reason why they parted from the king and his host was that, as they said, the king was under age and in the power of others and that they were vassals in chief of the emperor and more bound to him than to the king."

and much they were dismayed thereby, and many people had great fear therefrom. My lord of Beirut made a great feast and in appearance was most content with it, and said that now was he in security and that his people were freed and rid of the traitors; he said that he preferred to encounter them in battle and find them before him than behind, for as long as they were following him he momentarily waited for them to strike him between the shoulders. Now since they had broken faith to their lord and since they had deserted him in the field and were perjured towards him and his men, they were not people whom it was necessary to fear, wherefore from this action he considered that he had profit and the other party had much loss.

LXXXIX. Now the lord of Beirut and his people set out by land and their navy by sea. The first day they came into Botron; there they received much severe damage to their ships for the port was bad and the stormy weather drove them on so that nearly all the vessels were wrecked and the remaining were in great distress. Nonetheless the people set out from there and they rode through rain and bad weather, through great torrents, deep and overflowing their banks, and through the Pass of the Pagans and by the Pass of the Dog,¹ which is most perilous to cross; and they so strove that by force and by wisdom they came to the river of Beirut. Those of the castle of Beirut made marvelous joy and great lights when they saw them. Great need had they of succor, for the castle was so mined that it was falling by pieces, and the engines and the castle of Chaufor did them great havoc.²

XC (163). The news spread throughout all Syria that the lord of Beirut had come to relieve his castle. As soon as his nephew the young lord of Caesarea, who at that time was in

¹ Narrow passes on the sea road between Gibelet and Beirut.

² Amadi (p. 153) gives a couplet attributed to Philip which is omitted in the *Gestes*. Kohler includes it in his notes, as having undoubtedly formed part of the original text of Philip. It runs:

"God grant to us so much of strength and health
Fairly to hold our honor and our wealth."

Acre, heard it, he promised fiefs and gave thereof most lavishly, assembling men as best he could, and vigorously came to the aid of his uncle and his cousins.¹ The patriarch of Jerusalem, the two masters of the Temple and Hospital, the lord of Sidon, and the constable of the kingdom came to make peace.² In passing before Tyre there was an encounter between the lord of Caesarea and the garrison of the city, for the lord of Sidon had already surrendered Tyre to the Longobards by the command of the emperor.³ The lord of Caesarea pursued them until within the gates of the city. Most gladly was he seen in the host and most profitable was his coming. The five lords above named talked of peace but it was not to be.⁴ The bad weather lasted a very long time and there was in the host great scarcity of food and of barley so that nearly all the

¹ The *Eracles* (pp. 393-94) adds an important incident: "When they had come there [to Beirut] John d'Ibelin sent a messenger to Acre, one of his squires who was named Droin, and he sent several letters to Balian of Sidon and to John of Caesarea, who were his nephews, sons of his sisters, and to many others of his friends, and he sent letters to the men of the land in general in which it was contained and declared thus, after the greeting: 'Lords, I here inform you that strange men from another land have attacked me and have seized and taken my city and my land and have besieged my castle, and because of that I have no power to come to you or to send any of my men, for they are enclosed and besieged in my castle. Therefore I cause you to know my need by these letters, in which I summon you and require of you as my brothers and my friends that you maintain me rightly according to the usages and customs of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and that you aid me to rescue and deliver my city and my castle and my land.' These letters were read in the house of Balian of Sidon where most of the men of the emperor were assembled, whereupon John, the lord of Caesarea, demanded the reply for his uncle John d'Ibelin. Whereof it developed that one part agreed that they should aid and succor him in this and they offered to go to aid and succor him. The other part said that they were not in accord therewith. Those who agreed to go were: the lord of Caesarea, Rohard, the lord of Caïphas, Renaud his brother, Geoffrey le Tor, Geoffrey d'Estruani, Baldwin de Bon Veisin, and other knights, so that there were forty-three. These prepared and set out, and they came there where the king of Cyprus and John d'Ibelin were."

² Patriarch Gerold, Master Armand de Périgord of the Temple, Master Guérin of the Hospital, Balian of Sidon, Eudes de Montbéliard, the constable. The *Eracles* (p. 394) mentions in addition: Peter, archbishop of Caesarea, the bailli of the Venetians, and the consuls of the Genoese and Pisans.

³ The *Eracles* (p. 388) says that Tyre was surrendered to Henry, the brother of Filanger, by Aymon de Laron who guarded it. Balian of Sidon was Frederick's bailli in the kingdom, and probably Balian ordered de Laron, who was castellan of Tyre, to make the transfer.

⁴ The *Eracles* (p. 394) adds that thereafter they returned to Acre.

horses ate only reeds. There were few tents, for all were lost in the fleet which perished before Botron. The Longobards were at their ease for they had food in plenty and good and comfortable houses within the city.

XCI (164). One day, early in the morning, the Longobards came out of the city of Beirut and came in battle array as far as the river which was most broad there; if it had not been so broad they would not have come out thus; all day they remained there in this manner until night drove them away. The weather then became more clement and the river went down. Whereupon the host of King Henry and of the lord of Beirut crossed over and came before the city of Beirut, in battle array, and spurred up as far as the fosse. A feeble sally was made by those within but vigorously were they driven back within the city. Those within held themselves besieged in the city and divided the defenses of the city; those enemies who had left the king and my lord of Beirut and had gone to the other party — that is to the Longobards — were established in a section of the city where there was a great tower, and because of this it was often thereafter called the Tower of the Traitors, after the treason of those who had deserted their lord in the field.

XCII. The Longobards kept guard most vigorously by land and by sea so that no one could enter the castle, and they had arranged their galleys and tied them to a great chain of iron and had well aligned them all around the castle in the sea, so that they left only one narrow way by which they could enter and issue forth. Each night the lord of Beirut required those of the men at arms whom he was able to send to swim to the castle. Some there were who plunged under the galleys and came through all naked, and there within the castle they found robes and arms and food in plenty, for therein there was lack only of men at arms and captains. Those who crossed over by swimming were not enough that they could defend the castle, whereupon the lord of Beirut arranged so that he had one

night a vessel, and he put therein one of his sons, who was called Sir John of Foggia for the reason which you have already heard. He was later lord of Arsur¹ and constable of the kingdom of Jerusalem and was bailli several times,² and he was wise and worthy. With this John of Foggia there were in the vessel an hundred armed men, knights, sergeants, and squires, who were all of the household and following of the house of Ibelin.

XCIII. Sir Balian, the oldest of the brothers, was most angry and reproachful towards his father because he would not let him go, and said that he was the heir and there was greater reason for him to go than another. Sir Baldwin and all the others offered themselves often and were most angry that he did not wish them to go; he replied to them that he had greater need of them without than within for he awaited the battle from day to day, and thus he appeased them. The other vassals of the host as soon as they knew of it hurried there in eager rivalry, and so many were there that the vessel could scarce float. All those to whom the lord of Beirut ordered the departure thanked him greatly, his familiars and the strangers; great was the peril in passing the galleys and in entering the castle and in undertaking the defense. It appeared in this case as in others that no man was ever so loved by his people, for the vessel was so full of men that the water came up to the bulwarks. And when they came to the entrance of the narrow way by which the Longobards went to their galleys those in the galleys perceived them and most hideous were the cries, and much was thrown and hurled at them.

XCIV. By the pleasure of God they passed through and escaped the galleys and arrived at the rock below the castle. Those in the castle knew nothing about their coming; they threw lances and launched missiles upon them so that they suffered much, but in the end they recognized them and received

¹ The *Gestes* says Tyre, but Amadi has correctly Arsur, and Kohler corrected.

² He was bailli, 1246-48, 1249-54, 1256-57, and 1258-59, under Alice of Cyprus, Plaisance, and Hugh II. He was constable, 1251-58.

them with great joy and great illumination. But at the cry which was raised when they passed the galleys the lord of Beirut threw himself on the ground, in a cross towards the East, and cried mercy of Our Lord; when he saw the lights on the castle and the signals of their entrance he humbly gave thanks to God, and all those of the host did likewise. After the son of the lord of Beirut and so many good men had entered the castle, they defended themselves more vigorously, made a countermine against the miners, killed the miners without and within the mine, recaptured the fosse by force and fired the covered street which the Longobards had made in the fosse. Thereafter those of the castle made many brave sallies and gained somewhat over those without, and burned several engines.

XCV (165). Then the lord of Beirut saw well and knew that his castle was in a good state of defense, but he was not able, with the men whom he had with him, to raise the siege and defeat his enemies, who were ten for one. The number of them he did not fear, for most willingly would he fight them, but they were within the city which was well fortified having fine walls, and they had the power on the sea. Wherefore in his heart he thought that he would go to Acre and secure a great number of footmen and a large navy, of which he had none. Also he sent his son Sir Balian to Tripoli, together with young King Henry, and he gave to him full power to conclude and arrange a marriage between the sister of the king and the son of the prince,¹ and to give him great fiefs in Cyprus on the marriage, in order that the prince would aid them with knights and ships and men at arms; the talk of this marriage had already been begun a long time since. Thus as he thought so he did, but always he made it known to those within his castle that they should not be dismayed, for his going was

¹ The marriage was to be between Isabelle de Lusignan and Henry, second son of Bohemond IV. Bohemond, after his return from Cyprus, had become quite hostile to Frederick II, and the Ibelins counted on this in hoping for his assistance. The marriage eventually took place and the issue thereof was Hugh of Antioch-Lusignan, who became Hugh III of Cyprus.

so that he might the sooner return bringing their deliverance; and they replied that securely they should go in the name of God for they would defend themselves well with the aid of Our Lord and themselves; and so they did.

XCVI (166). When my lord of Beirut departed from the siege, Sir Balian, his son, set out for Tripoli. With him went Sir William Viscount,¹ who was a wise man, of the personal council of my lord of Beirut; it was he who had commenced the negotiations for this marriage, and he was born in Tripoli. Philip de Novare, who never parted from him [Balian], went there, as did many others. Many were the difficult passes they crossed and many the wide streams, and they passed before Gibelet, which belonged to the other party, and the soldiers marched all the night through the mountains. Yet, as God pleased, they made their way and arrived at Tripoli, where they took quarters outside in a house of the Temple which was called Montquocu. The prince and his children honored them greatly at the beginning, and each day were discussed the terms and covenants for the marriage and also the aid which the lord of Beirut demanded.

XCVII (167). At this time it happened that it became known in Tripoli that the host of Cyprus had departed from Beirut, wherefore there were many people who believed that all was lost. And the talk of the marriage cooled decidedly and yet it continued. One day Sir Balian and his company rode towards Mont Pelerin² to meet those who were conducting the arrangements for the marriage. On their return the gate of Montquocu was closed to them, and those of the house said that because of them they did not wish to be in disfavor with the people of the emperor. Sir Balian sent and asked shelter at the house of the Hospital and from those of Beau-

¹ Sir William Viscount was one of the most celebrated jurists of his time and was mentioned by Novare among the eminent jurists whom he knew. He was the spokesman for the Cypriots when Frederick demanded the expulsion of the Ibelins. (See above, Chap. LXXIX, note 1.)

² Mont Pelerin was a castle just outside Tripoli. It was built by Raymond of St. Gilles when he was besieging Tripoli.

lieu¹ also, who are Cistercian monks, and from those who held Mont Pelerin, which belongs to the bishop of Bethlehem. And each of these replied as the Temple had done. A knight there was at Tripoli at that time who was the vicar in Tripoli of the bishop of Tripoli; and he lodged them in a cowstable of the church of the said bishop, which was called the bishop's grange, and it was outside the gate of Tripoli. Sir Balian had the house freshened and cleaned and equipped within as best he could.

XCVIII. Now it happened that the captain of the Longobards, who well knew that Sir Balian was before Tripoli, had made forged letters as from the emperor, and they were made at Tyre on Saracen parchment, sealed with a seal of the emperor which he had. In these letters it was stated, after a most grand salutation, that he prayed the prince and his children as his dear cousins and faithful men that they would not give asylum to his enemies nor grant to them any forces or aid. The prince and his children sent these letters to Philip de Novare, together with another written memoir in which there were many words which said in substance: "Good people, do not cling to evil." At the end of this memoir was a note praying Philip to show these letters to Sir Balian and his men and make their excuses. Now it happened that previously the prince had given a fief to the said Philip and of his own goods he had given him, for he was freehanded to everyone. Philip loved him and approved much of him but he did not wish to retain the fief nor serve for it, and for this command he had little liking, but none the less he read the letters to his lord and told him all of these things, and thereafter made, without the knowledge of his lord, a simple rhyme and sent it to the prince:

Oh evil people rank with cowardice
I cannot suffer it, at any price,
That people say not when they speak of you . . .

XCIX (168). In the grange of the bishop of Tripoli Sir

¹ Beaumont or Beaulieu, an important Cistercian abbey just outside Tripoli.

Balian and his company endured much of anguish, sadness, and scorn; and they were not able to depart for the way was closed to them and well guarded both by land and by sea; whence it happened that he sent to the sultan of Damascus¹ [requesting] that he should give them safe-conduct and aid so that they might pass through the infidel country and go to Acre. The sultan granted it him most willingly, but things occurred thereafter whereby it was not needed. Sir Bertrand Porcelet, who was stepfather of Sir Amaury,² with his company and the men of Sir Hugh de Gibelet, who were in the land of Tripoli, most often rode around the lodging making derogatory gestures with their fingers,³ for they awaited from day to day the galleys of the Longobards and well they hoped to take and kill Sir Balian and his men in that lodging; long they suffered this anguish.

C (169). It happened, when the host of the Cypriots had departed from Beirut, that the Longobards said that the host of Cyprus had fled; whereupon they sent out [to Cyprus] Sir Amaury Barlais, Sir Amaury de Bethsan, Sir Hugh de Gibelet and their men, and Count Richard who was a Longobard. These took all the country except the castle of Dieu-damor where the sisters of the king and the people of the country had taken refuge, and then they took Cerines. Before Cerines was taken, Sir Balian d'Ibelin arranged very secretly that the Genoese, who had come to Tripoli in two long vessels, should become his men, and he gave them fiefs; and they made a covenant that they would carry him over into Cyprus and they well agreed that if he was able to leave he would subdue those who were in Cyprus. The prince [of Tripoli] learned

¹ Malik el Aschraf, sultan of Damascus, 1228-37.

² Bertrand Porcelet married Isabelle le Roux de Bethsan. In 1234 they sold her Syrian fiefs of Araibe and Zekanin to the Teutonic Knights (Strehlke, pp. 61-62), Porcelet having already been declared forfeit of all his fiefs in Cyprus in 1232.

³ The text says: "et mostroyent au doit par ou il monteroyent." We have given this a very free translation as the exact meaning is obscure.

of this and arrested the men and the ships by force and prevented their departure.¹

CI (170). Now you shall hear of my lord of Beirut who had gone to Acre. He brought forth and showed so great reasons to the people of the country, who feared the lordship of the Longobards would cause their destruction, that they made him mayor of the commune of Acre;² and the Genoese most willingly joined themselves to him, as much for love of him as because the emperor Frederick had sent orders to Syria that they should be seized in goods and in person.³ So much did the lord of Beirut accomplish that he secured a large navy and great numbers of men on foot and on horse who could easily raise the siege of Beirut.⁴ The Longobards heard tell of it, so they fired their engines and abandoned the siege of Beirut and in great shame fled therefrom to Tyre.

CII (171). When the news was known at Tripoli, Sir Balian d'Ibelin found more friends and a safe-conduct; so he departed therefrom and came to Beirut, and found the place badly ruined; much of sorrow he had thereof, but most joyfully they greeted him, and there he awaited the commands of my lord of Beirut his father.

¹ Amadi (p. 159) says that he removed the helms of their ships so that they could not depart.

² Ryccardus San Germano (p. 368) says that in April, 1232, John of Beirut received Acre "in odium imperatoris." The *Eracles* (p. 395) gives here the episode of the destruction of the Longobard fleet which Novare recounts later (Chap. CXV), wherein Ibelin so incited the Acre mob against the Longobards that it destroyed the fleet which was at harbor there, taking seventeen ships and allowing but one to escape. It would seem that in this case the *Eracles'* location of the incident is correct and that Novare remembered the happening, without knowing exactly when it occurred, and inserted it in his account in the wrong connection. Novare was himself in Tripoli at the time of the action and only heard of it later from the Ibelins. For the commune of Acre, see my article in *Haskins Anniversary Essays*, pp. 117-32.

³ The Genoese were always Guelph and never more so than in their struggle with Frederick II. Pisa was Ghibelline and the two cities fought out the struggle in Italy, on the seas, and in the Levant.

⁴ The *Eracles* (pp. 395-96) says that Ibelin raised the troops to besiege Tyre where Filanger was quartered, and that when Filanger heard of the plan to attack him in Tyre, he sent orders to his brother Lothaire to give up the siege of Beirut and bring their troops to Tyre.

CIII (172). King Henry and the lord of Beirut and all the host of the Cypriots issued forth from Acre to Casal Imbert.¹ They heard of the deliverance of Beirut, so there they lodged and waited to take counsel as to what they should do.² The next day there came to them a traitorous patriarch of Antioch who was a Lombard³ and had passed Tyre and had spoken to the Longobards at length. He made it to be understood by King Henry and by the lord of Beirut that he had full power on behalf of the Longobards to make peace between them and that he would so arrange that the peace would be to the honor and according to the wishes of the king and the lord of Beirut and of those of Cyprus and Syria. The noble man, who never refused a reasonable peace and who [made it] the more willingly when he had the advantage, followed the patriarch to Acre, taking with him his council, and some of the finest and best of the host followed him; a great part of the host yet remained at Acre for it had not yet set out, and the fleet was still in the port because of the news which they had heard tell of Beirut.

CIV (173). King Henry was at Casal Imbert in his camp with very few men. Yet were there with him the three sons of my lord of Beirut, that is to say Sir Baldwin, Sir Hugh, and Sir Guy, who was later constable of Cyprus⁴ — a noble man and a valiant, and also was there Sir John d'Ibelin, who was later count of Jaffa, and he was a new knight of only seventeen years of age, and was there Sir Anceau, who was captain of the host in the place of my lord of Beirut. Badly

¹ Modern Khirbet el Hamssyn about twelve miles north of Acre.

² The *Eracles* (p. 396) says that when they heard of the withdrawal of the Longobard army from Beirut to Tyre, they gave up their planned attack on Tyre.

³ Albert Rezzato, former bishop of Brescia, patriarch of Antioch, 1228-46. After the peace of San Germano the pope espoused the imperial cause in Syria and in July, 1232, deprived Patriarch Gerold of Jerusalem, who was violently anti-imperial, of his legatine office, which he gave to Albert of Antioch, who was charged to restore peace in the East and bring the Cypriot barons back into obedience to the emperor.

⁴ Guy d'Ibelin, the fifth son of John of Beirut, was constable of Cyprus in 1247. He distinguished himself on St. Louis's crusade in Egypt and married Philippa, the daughter of Amaury Barlais.

were they encamped, one here, one there, and nothing did they fear, indeed they said that they were going to take Tyre.

CV. The Longobards who were at Tyre spied upon them and learned that they were badly encamped and that they were but few men; so they set out from Tyre as soon as it had fallen night. And they brought with them the people of Tyre in force. It was fair weather at sea, and so came the twenty and two galleys to Casal Imbert; and they attacked the host of the Cypriots by night and they found them asleep and unarmed.¹ Some men had told Sir Anceau that the Longobards were coming but he had not believed them nor had he deigned to make it known, wherefore he should be greatly blamed. Never did men so surprised better defend themselves; the three sons of my lord of Beirut, Sir Baldwin, Sir Hugh, and Sir Guy, performed miracles of arms. Sir Baldwin was there perilously wounded, and his nephew Sir John, who was a youth, there did that which brought him great fame through all his life. Sir Anceau, because of the valor which was in him, and because he was captain and considered himself guilty in that he had heard of it and had not spread the news, showed marvelous prowess. The king escaped almost entirely naked and was put upon a horse and thereon fled to Acre.²

CVI. As long as the night lasted the Cypriots did not lose their camp; all night they fought. The Cypriots were some on foot, others on horse without saddles, some armed with hauberks and otherwise naked, others wholly unarmed. Some there were on horse who had no reins, who had no lances, who had no swords. None the less they smote down many Longobards and slew them. At the dawn of day those in the galleys

¹ The *Eracles* (p. 397) gives further details: the guard under the command of John d'Ibelin had been posted, but on the wrong side of the camp, on the side toward Acre instead of on the Tyre side, and the guards were all asleep in their tents.

² This was no disgrace to the king as he was still but a child. According to the *Eracles* (p. 397) John Babin put the king on his horse and sent him under guard to Acre, while he himself remained in the battle, in which he was badly wounded and captured.

descended and the light of day showed the small numbers of the Cypriots. Thus was the camp taken and pillaged of all, and there were lost all the horses except those on which were mounted those who escaped; twenty and four knights they took and a few were killed, many were wounded, and all the camp and most of the arms they captured. The Cypriot knights, who defended themselves well, halted on a small hill distant about an arbalest shot from the camp, and the Longobards saw them clearly but did not approach them.

CVII (175). King Henry came to Acre. The lord of Beirut came out at the sound and all those who wished to follow him,¹ sad and anguished. First of all they encountered the king, for which he [the lord of Beirut] gave thanks to God; thereafter they came upon other men who were fleeing. When these saw him [the lord of Beirut] they forsook the road.² One of the sergeants started out, saying that he would go to see if any of the children of his lord were in this rout, to which the latter objected, saying: "Do not so! Elsewhere shall we find them. They would not have dared to flee so far nor to come to that place where I might be." A little farther on he [the lord of Beirut] encountered one of his old sergeants who was fleeing: this man wept and said to him: "All your fine children have you lost, and they are dead." The noble man said in reply: "And what of this, sir scurvy villain? Thus should knights die defending their bodies and their honor." He went ahead rapidly and when he approached Casal Imbert he saw those who were on the hill; and as soon as these saw him they spurred their horses after the Longobards who were already withdrawing.

CVIII. The Longobards saw those coming from Acre and took to flight and precipitately crossed the crest of the Pass Poulain.³ The lord of Beirut found there his men, who threw

¹ The *Eracles* (p. 398) names Balian of Sidon, Eudes de Montbéliard, John of Caesarea, and Rohard de Caïphas.

² Amadi (p. 161) says more precisely, "So they forsook the road and went across the fields for the shame they had for this rout."

³ Narrow pass near the Ladder of Tyre on the road from Acre to Tyre.

themselves on the rear guard of the Longobards, and he saw and knew that attack and pursuit would avail naught, for his enemies had already taken the pass and they had many arbalesters and archers, so he called back his men, greatly thanking Our Lord that he found them alive and that they had so well conducted themselves. There he found all his dear friends except his son Sir Hugh. Him he found in an old embattled house which was at Casal, for his horse had been killed near this house. Both he and a knight who was his companion went into this house and defended it with stones until they heard the rescuers. He was believed to have been killed or taken; great was the joy when he was found there.

CIX (176). The Longobards went to Tyre with very great gains, for between those on land and those on the galleys they carried all that they had taken. And because they had taken so much — most of the horses, arms, and equipment of the Cypriots — they were of the opinion that they were much ahead for their campaign and that their enemies would not be able to recover in Cyprus nor cross over for a long time. So they arranged the disposition of their forces, and, leaving a garrison at Tyre, at once passed over to Cyprus in great force to take the island, aided therein by favorable weather on the sea. This was in the year 1232.¹

CX (177). Now that the Longobards were in Cyprus the castle of Kantara was surrendered to them. Previously there had been surrendered the tower of the port of Famagusta to Sir Amaury Barlais and to Sir Amaury de Bethsan and to Sir Hugh de Gibelet, and the castle of Cerines also, so that of all the fortresses in Cyprus none remained to the lord of Beirut or the king save only Dieudamor. To that place had betaken themselves the two sisters of the king² and Sir Arneis de

¹ The *Eracles* (p. 398) gives the exact date for the battle of Casal Imbert as May 3, 1232, the day on which King Henry reached his majority of fifteen years.

² The *Gestes* names them: Marie and Isabelle.

Gibelet¹ who was at that time bailli of the Secrète,² and there also was Philip de Caffran³ who was the castellan. In the same place took refuge a few knights, ladies, and damsels, who had gathered there before they had time to make themselves ready, together with other people who were ill supplied with food and other things which were needful to them.⁴

CXI. But most of the ladies and damsels and children of Cyprus were so taken unawares that they were not able to go to Dieudamor and so they took refuge in the churches and houses of religion, and many there were who took refuge and hid in the mountains and in caves. These ladies dressed themselves as shepherdesses and their children as shepherds' children, and these women went to glean the grain which was there and on this they lived, both themselves and their children, in such great misery that it is pitiful to relate. Lady Eschive de Montbéliard,⁵ who at that time was the wife of Sir Balian d'Ibelin son of my lord of Beirut, took refuge in the Hospital and her children with her; and when she heard that the Longobards had arrived she had so great fear that she dressed in the robes of a minor brother and, abandoning her children and her fief, mounted a rock [castle] called Buf-favento. Therein was she received by an old knight named Guinart de Conches⁶ who was there on behalf of the king, and

¹ The name appears as Arneis, Arnesius, Hernis, and Henris. He appears on many charters with the Ibelins in the years 1220-39. (La Monte, "Register of the Cartulary of Nicosia," (Byzantion, V, 1930) Nos. 12, 38-42, 45, 46.)

² The *Gestes* and *Eracles* (p. 399) add: "whom the lord of Beirut had left as captain of the land." The Secrète was the central treasury of the kingdom.

³ Philip de Caffran was one of the witnesses of Henry's treaty with the Genoese in 1233. He was related by marriage to the house of Morf in Cyprus, having married Agnes, daughter of Baldwin de Morf.

⁴ The *Gestes* and *Eracles* (p. 399) add: "almost were they lost from lack of food, and they were in great distress and grief until they were rescued."

⁵ Eschive de Montbéliard, daughter of Walter and Borgogne de Lusignan, was the widow of Gerard de Montaigu, who was killed at the battle of Nicosia in 1229. She married Balian d'Ibelin, but the marriage was declared uncanonical as they were related within the prohibited degrees, her aunt having married Balian's uncle, Philip. They were excommunicated March 5, 1231, by Gregory IX and it was not till sometime after 1232, though before 1239, that the excommunication was lifted.

⁶ Guinart, Girardo, or Gerard.

she supplied herself so that she provisioned it [Buffavento] with food, of which it had none.

CXII. The Longobards came hastily to Nicosia and there they committed all the abominations and outrages and villainies of which they knew and were capable. They broke into the churches and the Temple and the house of the Hospital and all the religious houses, and they dragged out the ladies and the children who clung to the altars and to the priests who chanted the Masses. Wherefore it happened that in one place they scattered from the hand of the priest the body of Our Lord and threw the Sacrament on the ground. They put the ladies and children into carts and on donkeys most shamefully and sent them to Cerines to prison, and they pricked with goads those who refused to go at once. The Longobards took Cerines and brought there great supplies, for by their galleys and their vessels they sent to that place all that they had found along all the coasts of Cyprus.

CXIII (179). The Longobards and the other traitors went to besiege Dieudamor, and they pressed it most closely, for they knew well that those within were poorly furnished with provisions. They sent to the siege, to press the castle the more, the most mortal enemies whom the king and the lord of Beirut had, and so sent I do not know how many companies of arbalesters, perjured and traitorous, who had fled from the host of the Cypriots and had gone into Gibelet when the host of the Cypriots passed before it on its way to the relief of Beirut.¹

CXIV (181). King Henry of Cyprus had now completed his fifteenth year² and was able to give and do his pleasure as a lord who had attained his majority; whereupon he prom-

¹ The *Gestes* here inserts paragraph 180 to make the transition to the next topic: "At this passes in silence the story of the Longobards who were in Cyprus, who thought to have gained all, and returns to King Henry and to the lord of Beirut who were in Acre, who hurriedly and vigorously conducted themselves according to the great difficulties in which they found themselves."

² May 3, 1232.

ised and gave several fiefs to those who were with him, and to the Genoese he promised a franchise and court in the kingdom of Cyprus¹ if they would accompany him only until he had arrived in Cyprus. The lord of Beirut, who was then mayor of the commune of Acre as this narrative has previously told, came before the patriarch Gerold of Jerusalem in the presence of King Henry and of many men who were there and he complained to the patriarch, who was also the legate,² of the damage which the Longobards had done to the king and to himself in the matters above related. Among the other matters above stated he recalled to their memories and told how the Longobards had taken the whole navy of the king when the king came from Cyprus, for those which had escaped from Botron the king had sent to Cyprus. They had taken this fleet, and all that remained they had seized and also the kingdom of Cyprus, moreover they had besieged the sisters of the king in a castle. The king had wished to go to their rescue but he did not have a navy as was needful. The *salanders* in which the Longobards had come were in the port of Acre, wherefore he requested the patriarch, as legate, to command that they should take the *salanders* which were in the port as those of excommunicates and of those who had attacked the castles of Christendom and had deprived the king of his navy and his kingdom.

CXV. The good patriarch replied that he would not interfere in matters of arms, but said that he had seen on occasion in his own country, when hunters were hunting their prey and the beast was in a thicket, that they would bring up their hunting dogs and, pointing with their hands, would call them saying "Go take it." Then ran the knights and the sergeants and the Pullani³ of the port to barges and other small craft which they

¹ This first treaty has not been preserved; it was renewed and extended by the Treaty of Famagusta; see below, pp. 148-49.

² Gregory deprived Gerold of his legatine powers in July, 1232, and transferred them to the patriarch of Antioch.

³ The Pullani or Poulains were Syrian-born Franks resident in Syria. The term was often applied to men of mixed descent, but could include all the Syrian-born Franks.

found in the port and they came to the *salanders*, and they took thirteen of them by force, as God willed. The other ships and *salanders* fled to Tyre.¹ King Henry and the lord of Beirut retained as many of the people as they were able,² but they had most great lack of money. Wherefore it came about that the young lord of Caesarea sold part of his land of Caesarea, and my lord John d'Ibelin, who was later count of Jaffa, sold a great manor of his which was at Acre,³ and they loaned the money to the king. Many of the Pullani of the port equipped themselves hurriedly and set out,⁴ and they had I do not know how many armed vessels, and the king gave them fiefs in return for which they owed services on the sea.

¹ According to the *Eracles* (p. 395) this whole episode of the capture of the Longobard fleet occurred before the battle of Casal Imbert when John d'Ibelin came down to Acre and was made mayor of the commune in April, 1232. (See above, Chap. CI. note 2.) The earlier date would seem the more likely for several reasons and is accepted by Röhricht, Müller, and others. Philip himself says in Chap. CI that Ibelin raised a fleet on this occasion, and in Chap. CIII mentions this fleet as being still in the port of Acre. On June 17, before the news of the battle of Agridi of June 15 had reached Rome, the pope wrote Gerold warning him against cooperating with the enemies of the emperor. (*MGH. Epis.* I, No. 467). Had the incident in question occurred in April it might have been in the pope's mind at the time of this warning, which it could hardly have been had it happened only after the defeat at Casal Imbert. As Müller points out, Novare was at the time in Tripoli with Balian and so had the story at second hand, and the change in policy of Bohemond of Antioch-Tripoli is also better explained if the rising in Acre and the capture of the Longobard fleet took place earlier. (Müller, *Longebardenkrieg auf Cypern*, p. 39.)

² The *Eracles* (p. 398) says that so many of the lords became discouraged after the defeat at Casal Imbert and deserted to the Longobard side that Ibelin and the king had to secure as many new men as they could through new enfeoffments.

³ The sale mentioned here by Novare would seem to be the sale by John d'Ibelin of some properties in the rue de la Vieille Reine in Acre to the Hospital in April, 1232 (Delaville Le Roulx, *Cartulaire*, II, docs. 2015, 2016). The *Eracles* (p. 398) says that after the defeat at Casal Imbert John of Caesarea sold his casale of Cafarlet to the Hospital for 16,000 besants and John d'Ibelin of Jaffa sold his casale of Arames to the Temple for 15,000. It would seem that Novare has here confused the sales of the two periods, as he mentions the sale of the land in Caesarea which took place after the battle and the sale of the property in Acre which took place in April. The *Eracles'* account places the capture of the fleet and the first trouble in Acre in April and the sale of lands and the attempt to raise men after Casal Imbert; Novare writing later could very easily have confused the two similar incidents, as lands were sold and ships acquired on both occasions.

⁴ Amadi (p. 164) says that the Genoese joined with them.

XVI (182). And they departed from Acre on their voyage¹ and passed before Tyre with their ships. The galleys of the Longobards, which had arrived from Cyprus, came out against them and headed into the wind, but they did not dare draw near to the host; and always they pursued their course against the wind, watching that they might do them damage. The host of the Cypriots arrived before Sidon. There came Sir Balian who had come from Tripoli to Beirut with his company named above,² and there also came his brother Sir John of Foggia and his company above named, which had been with him in the garrison at Beirut, and . . . of Sidon;³ and King Henry of Cyprus gave them many fiefs.

XVII (183). The Cypriots sailed before the wind from the port of Sidon and came to Cyprus, arriving at La Gree,⁴ and the galleys of the Longobards at that moment approached them running against the wind. By night they sent on land to spy out where was the host of the Longobards and they learned for certain that the host and all their strength was at Famagusta and their galleys in the port.

XVIII (184). The host of the Cypriots came before Famagusta; the Longobards were in the city and had a great plenty of men, both horse and foot, and they had many horses and arms which they had taken at Casal Imbert and all those which they had found in Cyprus. With them were those traitors who had left the king at Puy du Constable, as has been told previously in this history, and other men whom they had gotten from Tripoli and Armenia, and turcopoliers whom they had from Cyprus, so that it was estimated that they had well over two thousand horse in their host. King Henry and the lord of Beirut had only two hundred and thirty-three horse.

XIX (185). When the host of King Henry had come be-

¹ The *Eracles* (p. 400) gives the date of the departure as Pentecost, i.e., May 30.

² Amadi (p. 165) says they came from Tripoli with the Genoese.

³ There is no lacuna in the text of the *Gestes*; the meaning is probably "those of Sidon," as it could hardly refer to Balian of Sidon, the bailli of the emperor.

⁴ Cape south of Famagusta.

fore Famagusta, it went some little distance from land. The lord of Beirut made observations and saw that the coast was well equipped with men at arms against him and that he would run grave peril in descending on land. He noted an island opposite the land where was a ford whence one could cross to the land when the waters are lowest on the land side and the sea is calm. On this island the host of the Cypriots landed, with very great damage on account of the rocks which were there, nor would anyone have believed that the host could have landed there. At once they hurried to the head of the island opposite the land, where the ford was located, and there they established men at arms to guard the ford until they should all be disembarked and well appalled.

CXX. The men of the emperor shot missiles toward that place and offered all the resistance of which they were capable, shooting with arbalests. There was much throwing of lances and shooting on both sides; nonetheless the Cypriots, great and small, disembarked at their leisure, they and their horses. That night they camped on the island and guarded well all night the headland towards the ford by which they should cross to the mainland, and after midnight they sent barges and other small armed boats to the port, whence they hastened to one of the places of the city. Great was the tumult. Then the Longobards set fire to all their ships which were in the port, deserted the city, took horse, and went to Nicosia. The footmen of the host of the king advanced hurriedly and took the city of Famagusta by night.

CXXI (186). Early the next morning the king and his Cypriots armed and had their horses equipped, and, mounted on their horses, passed over the ford to the mainland in battle array, and well they expected to encounter resistance in crossing the ford but they found none, and so they came to the city of Famagusta. There they lodged two days or three to rest themselves. The Longobards had left the sea tower full of men. The king treated with them and gave fiefs to the cap-

tains, and they surrendered to him the tower of the port of Famagusta. There also came to them three men of the king who guarded Kantara for the Longobards. The king gave them what they asked and they surrendered to him Kantara and Buffavento,¹ and the lord of Beirut and his children pardoned one of them, by name Humphrey de Monaigre, who had done them much evil. The recovery of Kantara and of the tower of Famagusta was arranged and secured by Philip de Novare.

CXXII. Three days² the king of Cyprus remained in the city of Famagusta, and he treated with the captain of the Genoese³ who was named Sir William de l'Ort [and] who was consul of the Genoese and a man of property.⁴ The king granted him whatever he requested: franchises and court he granted to the Genoese throughout all Cyprus, save the justice of three things, that is to say murder, rape, and treason;⁵ he gave them a house in Nicosia and the court over the sea,⁶ and a casale called Despoire.⁷ And they were held thereby to the king by oath, and the king to them, for aid and alliance⁸

¹ Philip said above that Eschive, wife of Balian d'Ibelin, had fortified Buffavento against the Longobards. It may have been mentioned here by mistake as it is omitted in the next sentence.

² The *Eracles* (p. 400) says two days; the Genoese treaty is dated June 10.

³ The text of the treaty is published in Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 51-56, and *Liber iurium reipublicae Ianiensis* (Turin, 1854), I, 899-902. John d'Ibelin granted the Genoese rights in Beirut as early as November, 1221 (Mas Latrie, II, 43-44).

⁴ The *Gestes* has William de Loure; the treaty reads de Orto and calls him viceconsul: it is drawn up between the king and Hugh Ferrario and William de Orto, consul and viceconsul of the Genoese.

⁵ Article I of treaty. According to the *Assises de Jérusalem*, I, 128-29, these matters were tried in the royal court, and all the grants of court right to the commercial communes reserve them (see La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy*, pp. 102, 235-36).

⁶ Article 4 of treaty. The editors of the Académie edition (p. 173) believe that this refers to exemptions from customs; I believe that it means the right to hear in their own court maritime cases which would normally be heard in the royal *Cour de la chaîne*. Article I gives them their own court. Article 2 gives freedom of sale with exemption from taxes.

⁷ Casale near Limassol; Article 3 of treaty. They were also given houses and lands in Famagusta and Paphos.

⁸ We translate *alliance* the word of the text *ounement*; the editors of the Académie edition would have it read *armement*.

for a given term; but the gift which King Henry gave them was for all time by his good will and that of my lord of Beirut. The Genoese remounted their ships and went to Limassol. There they were when they learned the honor which Our Lord later gave to the king of Cyprus and to his men, and when they learned this they went to Genoa. The galleys of the Longobards were aware all the while they were in the waters of Cyprus but never did they dare touch the ships.

CXXIII. When the [Genoese] ships took to the high seas, the [Longobard] galleys came to Cerines which the Longobards held.¹ The host of the Longobards, when it left Famagusta, fired the granges and the entire plain and this caused great damage, for most of the grain was already in the granges. They broke all the mills of La Quetrie,² even the hand mills they broke at Nicosia in so far as they were able. From these things the Cypriots got great comfort and said that it was clearly apparent that they did not plan to hold the land when they did this; and Our Lord had given such grace to the Cypriots, although they were so few in numbers of men, that it seemed to them certainly that as soon as they met the Longobards in the field they would surely defeat them.

CXXIV (187). King Henry and the lord of Beirut and his people left Famagusta and came in several days to Nicosia with great damage to their harness and with few men. The Longobards deserted the land and encamped in a valley between two high mountains on the road to Cerines. Their camp was goodly and strong so that no one was able to come at them save by a narrow road over a great mountain, and there the pass was well defended; nor were the Cypriots able to succor the castle of Dieudamor save by this same route; the Longobards had whatever they needed on the side of Cerines,

¹ The words in brackets are derived from the account of Amadi (p. 167) which is clearer.

² La Quithrie or Kythria near Nicosia, which has always been a center of milling.

while at the castle of Dieudamor they had provisions for two days only.

CXXV (188). King Henry and the lord of Beirut and their men entered Nicosia where they found little of that of which they had need, and there was a great dearth of bread. The lord was much concerned in that they were foolishly quartered and scattered throughout the city, and he feared the followers of the Longobards, who might readily attack his people by night. At the hour of vespers he gave the call to arms and said that the Longobards were coming, whereupon they all went outside of Nicosia.¹ As soon as the men were outside the city in battle array, the lord of Beirut announced that the Longobards had retreated and gone, but in the name of the king he forbade anyone to enter the city. Outside of the city they selected a spot² where there were gardens on one side and a small fosse. There they encamped that night, and most well they kept guard, and had good countersigns, for they well remembered Casal Imbert.

CXXVI (189). The morning of the next day, which was a Tuesday,³ the Cypriots set out, and it was now more than five weeks since the affair of Casal Imbert had occurred. The king and the lord of Beirut and their council had proposed that they should go onto the plain below the camp of their enemies; if the Longobards descended upon them the Cypriots desired battle. And if not they would camp in a casale named Agridi which is near that place at the foot of the mountain. From there by night they would send some comfort and aid by men on foot to those in Dieudamor, by a path steep and narrow which mounted the rock. With this purpose the host of the Cypriots came between the host of the Longobards and Agridi.⁴ As soon as the Longobards, who were above, saw

¹ The *Gestes* adds, "that same day that they came."

² The *Gestes* adds, "which was named Trahona"; this name is also given in the *Eracles* (p. 400).

³ The *Gestes* and *Eracles* (p. 400) say "Tuesday, the fifteenth of June."

⁴ The *Gestes* adds, from *Eracles* (p. 400): "so that one part of their equipment and their sergeants was already sent to the said casale, and the other was



DIEUDAMOR: WINDOW OF THE
DINING HALL



DIEUDAMOR: PATHWAY BETWEEN
ROOMS; VIEW OF BUFFAVENTO



CASTLE AND HARBOR OF CERINES

the Cypriots, how few they were and with what poor harness, they were scornful and ashamed of avoiding battle, and they cried with one voice, "At them! At them! Let us go and capture them!"

CXXVII. Then the lord of Beirut dismounted and thanked Our Lord on his knees that his enemies came to the battle, for well he knew and said that this would be the deliverance [of his people] and the best that could happen to them. Devoutly he prayed and asked Our Lord that He, on this day, would give honor and victory to the king and his party. It is said that at this hour he vowed secretly that which later he did — to enter a religious house. The battle array was ordered and devised. Sir Balian d'Ibelin, his son, had always in this war led the first troop. At this time he made him come before him and demanded that he swear to obey the command of the Holy Church, for he was under sentence of excommunication because of his marriage. He replied that he could not accede to this request. The noble man replied to him and said: "Balian, I have more faith in God than in your knighthood, and since you do not wish to grant my request, leave the array, for, an it please God, an excommunicated man shall never be a leader of our troop." Thus he said and thus he did.

CXXVIII. He established as captains of the first troop Sir Hugh, his son, and Sir Anceau de Brie; of the second, Sir Baldwin d'Ibelin; of the third, the young lord of Caesarea; and the fourth was the rear guard, for more he did not have.¹

coming afterwards." The strategy of the Cypriots at Agridi is not made entirely clear by Philip. Ibelin, having secured Agridi, marched straight towards Dieudamor, passing the ravine in which were the Longobards. These attacked the Cypriot army on its flank but could not stop the advance. Balian's diversion at the mouth of the ravine caused a long gap between the first two divisions of the Longobards and the main bulk of their army, and the battle was already won before Filanger arrived with the main host. Ibelin's sergeants who had occupied Agridi came up in time to render valuable assistance. The battle is of interest as being one in which the employment of infantry by the Cypriots turned the day: the heavy armed Longobard knights were at the mercy of the Cypriot infantry, who slaughtered them when they fell from their horses, while they assisted their own knights to remount their steeds.

¹ Kohler introduces this reading from Amadi (p. 169), correcting the *Gestes*

In this was the king, the lord of Beirut, his young nephew Sir John, and many others who greatly wished to be in the first troop. The lord of Beirut commanded Sir Balian, his son, to be with him in the rear guard, and he said to him: "In God's name." But he did otherwise, for he escaped and went to the first rank where were his brother Sir Hugh and Sir Anceau; he gave them advice and showed them that which he knew to be of advantage, and then he left them and placed himself before them to the side. He had but few men who were with him, for at that time there were only five knights who would speak to him, all the others having sworn to respect the command of Holy Church. Of these five one was Philip de Novare and another was Raymond de la Flace — these two were his vassals and held from him. Peter de Montolif was the third and he had pay and goods from him; the other two were Robert de Maumeni and Eudes de la Fierté, whom he had reared and made knights.¹

CXXIX (190). When the advance guard of the first company of the Longobards approached the division of my lord of Beirut and the king, Sir Balian spurred through a most evil place, over rocks and stones, and went to attack the others above in the middle of the pass. So much he delayed them and did such feats of arms that no one was able to enter or leave this pass, and so much he endured there that all those who saw him bore witness saying that they could not believe that a single man would ever be able to do this. Many times was he pressed by so many lances that no one believed that he would ever be able to escape. Those who were below with the

which states: "He established as captain of the first troop Sir Hugh, his son, Sir Anceau de Brie in the second, Sir Baldwin d'Ibelin in the third, the young lord of Caesarea in the fourth, and he was in the rear guard for more there were not." Jauna (I, 550) says that the rear guard was commanded by Philip de Novare!

¹ Eudes de la Fierté was viscount of Acre in 1250; the Montolifs were a family of considerable importance in Cyprus in the fourteenth century, and appear on charters of the counts of Tripoli in the twelfth. These men are not otherwise known. Dom Jauna (I, 552) makes the lord of Arsur the hero of this singlehanded defense; la Fierté becomes de Fittes and la Flace becomes Nassau in his account.

king saw him and knew him well by his arms and each of them cried to my lord of Beirut: "Ah Sir, let us aid Sir Balian, for we see that he will be killed there above." He [the lord of Beirut] said to them: "Leave him alone. Our Lord will aid him, and it please Him, and we shall ride straight forward with all speed, for if we should turn aside we might lose all." The battle was hard fought in that hour on all sides and lasted long, and there were many felled.

CXXX. Count Walter de Manepeau¹ led the first troop of the Longobards; he attacked badly and, skirting all the ranks of the king, fell upon them with force but passed clear beyond them without doing great damage. Some from the ranks of the king wished to attack him, but the lord of Beirut wisely forbade that any should turn aside from advancing, for knights should always ride forward. Count Walter and Sir Joffroi de Mosie,² son of the Justiciar, with all their troop forsook the battle and turned toward the fourth company,³ and from that they fled as far as la Castrie⁴ without doing more. Count Berard de Menope,⁵ who led the second troop, was well proven in knighthood and had good men at arms. He charged most vigorously and badly disordered the first troop of the Cypriots, but the troop of Sir Baldwin assisted them stoutly and Sir Baldwin conducted himself well and performed goodly deeds of arms.

CXXXI. Sir Anceau de Brie accosted Count Berard and, seizing him by the helm, turned him to the left, and he was most strong of arm and had a good horse, so he pulled the count by force from his saddle and threw him on the ground and cried "Kill! Kill!" Then there came to that place almost

¹ Walter de Paleria, count of Manupello, vicar general of the Empire, one of Frederick's trusted advisors.

² Geoffrey de Montefoscolo, later himself justiciar of Calabria.

³ Amadi (p. 171) says "turned towards Agridi."

⁴ Castrie or Gastria.

⁵ This may have been Berard de Manupello, a relative of that Berard de Manupello, count of Loreto, who in 1239 was one of the knights to whom Frederick entrusted the Lombard prisoners.

fifty or sixty sergeants on foot whom the Cypriots had earlier sent to Agridi to make the camp. These cut off the head of Count Berard and also those of seventeen knights of his household who had all got down to raise him. This word, "Kill!" Kill!" ran throughout the company and all cried, "Kill! Kill!"

CXXXII. In this battle was a knight among the Longobards who was said to be a German, who was covered both he and his horse, with gilded metal. He attacked many times and many deeds of arms he did, and he was so strong and so vigorous that no one could fell him. But in the end his horse was killed and the men on foot threw themselves on him and killed him. And much chagrined were the Cypriot knights who had seen his prowess. Many were the men among the Longobards who clashed in bitter combat and they were most great men. In all of which Our Lord God performed great miracles, for among the Cypriots there was killed only one knight, who was born in Lombardy and was brought up and dubbed a knight in Cyprus, but his speech was that of a Lombard and he could not say the king's password *Vaillance* but cried *Baillance*. And because of this was he killed, being taken for a Longobard.¹

CXXXIII (195). Such great honor and grace did God show to King Henry and to the lord of Beirut and to their party that in one hour of that day they defeated their strong enemies and drove them away; they delivered Dieudamor which was besieged, and they besieged Cerines where the Longobards sought refuge. The sergeants who were at the siege of Dieudamor in the service of the Longobards fled

¹ Kohler has reconstructed the whole latter part of this paragraph from Amadi, pp. 171-72. The *Gestes* reads instead: "And one thing there was which greatly aided the Cypriots that they had sergeants on foot, whence it came about that when one of their knights was thrown down the sergeants helped him remount his horse, while when one of the Longobard knights was thrown they killed him or took him prisoner; and because of this there were many of Apulia killed and taken in this battle and of the Cypriots only one knight, who was named Serge and who had been born in Tuscany though he was brought up and dubbed knight in Cyprus; and of those of Apulia were killed more than sixty knights and more than forty were taken."

therefrom, and they did not dare fly towards Cerines because of the Cypriots who were already before it, so they scattered towards Plassie¹ and turned towards Nicosia; they did not dare enter by day, but by night they hoped to find refuge in the houses of the religious.

CXXXIV. Whence it happened that Philip de Novare, who had returned to Nicosia for certain business by the command of King Henry and the lord of Beirut, learned that the sergeants were coming, so he assembled what he could of men and went to meet them outside the city. A little before midnight came Philip de Novare and his men and they ran upon them and killed and captured three hundred sergeants or more, and certain ones of them, who escaped because it was night, took shelter in churches and religious houses. Philip caused to come before him the three masters of sergeants who had deserted the king and the lord of Beirut before Gibelet, whereby were they perjurers and traitors, so he had them all mutilated,² and most gladly would he have had them hanged but that he did not have the leisure, for he had but few men in his retinue and too many prisoners.

CXXXV (196). The next day it was known that Count Walter de Manepeau and the son of the Justiciar and their company were in refuge at la Castrie in the fosse of the castle, for the Templars refused to receive them inside because they had previously broken into their house and dragged out the ladies and children as you have heard earlier in this narrative. Wherefore it came about that the king and the lord of Beirut sent there Sir John the Younger, who was later count of Jaffa, and a company of knights with him. And within the fosse they found them and took them prisoners and brought them to Nicosia. And there they were put in prison with the others who were taken the day of the battle. All were delivered

¹ Blessia or Pletcha on the plain south of Dieudamor.

² Mas Latrie (*Histoire*, I, 291) interprets this to mean having their hands or feet cut off, as that was the penalty often meted out to non-nobles by the *Assises de la cour des bourgeois*. (*Assises*, II, lvi.)

to Philip de Novare, who had them guarded. In this prison he had an hundred and forty-five prisoners and many died of wounds. Sir Hugh de Sorel, Sir Ente de Cheligen, Sir Gent de Cors died there, but Sir Philip Obuissou recovered from most severe wounds.¹

CXXXVI (197). The siege was before Cerines and those within were very great men and they had all their ships in which they had come to Cyprus, and the twenty and two galleys. It so happened that they established as captain to guard the castle and the walls Philip Chenart,² who was brother of Sir Gauvain by their mother, and they left fifty knights of whom the captain was a gentleman of Apulia named Walter de Eguevive.³ Sir Richard Filanger, the bailli, and many men with him went to Armenia to seek aid, and also they sent to Antioch and Tripoli, and they said that they would come back and fight another time against the Cypriots. In Armenia there was much sickness and death among them; they returned to Cerines with nothing accomplished and said that there were already so many men on land and on sea that they consumed too much of the food of the castle. For this reason they reëntered their galleys and returned to Tyre. With Filanger, their bailli, went Sir Amaury Barlais and Sir Amaury de Bethsan, his cousin, and Sir Hugh de Gibelet. Filanger⁴ remained bailli at Tyre and those three others went to Apulia to seek aid from the emperor.

CXXXVII (198). Philip Chenart remained captain at Cer-

¹ Röhricht (*Geschichte*, pp. 823-24) suggests that Ente de Cheligen might be Hans von Schliengen; the others have not been identified.

² Philip Chenart had been captain of Kantara after the death of Gauvain.

³ Walter of Acquaviva, son of Renard of Acquaviva in the Abruzzi.

⁴ Kohler introduces the name of Filanger after Amadi, p. 174. The *Gestes* reads as though Hugh de Gibelet remained as bailli in Tyre while Filanger, Barlais, and de Bethsan went to the West. Röhricht (*Geschichte*, p. 824) and Müller (*Longobardenkrieg*, p. 54) accept this version of it and make de Gibelet the bailli in Tyre; Mas Latrie (*Histoire*, I, 291) says that Filanger went to the West leaving his brother Lothaire as bailli in Tyre, and that de Gibelet later joined Lothaire there. I incline to question the correctness of Kohler's emendation as Filanger does not seem to have been present in Syria for a time after this.

ines and fifty knights with him and about a thousand men on foot, both arbalesters and sailors. He had there many good makers of engines, by whom he caused to be built many trebuchets, stone throwers, and mangonels; and well he had the castle guarded, and the walls also were valiantly guarded for a long time. The wife of the king was within, who was called the Longobard queen because the emperor had given her and she held to the party of the Longobards. She died within. When she was dead those of Cerines carried her outside, and it was said that she was the queen and that she was dead. The king and the lord of Beirut received her and made great mourning for her death and had her carried honorably to Nicosia by the hands of knights all on foot. They then ordered a procession and all the people of Nicosia to accompany her within as far as the cathedral church of Nicosia where she was buried. After this the king and the lord of Beirut returned to the siege of Cerines and brought there great forces.

CXXXVIII (199). King Henry caused all his court to be assembled and he complained in his court of Sir Amaury Barlais, Sir Amaury de Bethsan, Sir Hugh de Gibelet, and all his liegemen who had been opposed to him in battle since he had come of age.¹ By common consent of the court they were

¹ This is the last mention in Philip's narrative of the Barlais-Bethsan-Gibelet faction. Amadi (pp. 174-75) gives the names of some of the others who were declared forfeit at this time: Philip Chenart, Hugh Chabot (Zaboc), Hugh de Mare, Reynoud le Chamberlain (Zamberlani), Hugh and Bertran Porcelet, and the lords of Cressi of Tabor, the Carpasso and the Messorea.

After their exile and forfeiture in Cyprus these imperialist Cypriots fled to lands friendly to or under the rule of the emperor. Amaury Barlais and his family fled to Tripoli, where Amaury died shortly before 1236. Hugh de Gibelet and Bertrand Porcelet also took refuge in Tripoli. The princes of Antioch-Tripoli were favorable to the emperor and welcomed these refugees, establishing them in their new homes. Later Lothaire Filanger also came there. Amaury de Bethsan, Chenart, Chabot, de Mare, and a large number of Cypriots fled to Apulia and Sicily, where they were given fiefs by the emperor and employed in the imperial service. Philip Chenart, the former defender of Cerines, rose to the most brilliant heights. Marrying an Apulian heiress he became count of Conversano (1242), to which was added the lordship of Acquaviva. In 1247 he was made chatelain of Bari; in the same year, together with Amaury de Bethsan, Thomas d'Aquino count of Acerra and former imperial

all disinherited and declared forfeit in body and in belongings, and the king gave their fiefs to those who had served and aided him. Much it grieved the Cypriots that they did not have galleys to besiege the castle by sea; the galleys of the Longobards went from Cerines to Tyre and from Tyre to Cerines. The will of God was that later thirteen galleys of the Genoese came across the sea to Limassol in two passages, in one four and in the other nine. The lord of Beirut went with great haste to Limassol and retained them in the pay of the king and brought them to Cerines.

CXXXIX. Then was the castle besieged on sea and on land, both by these and by those who could be had from Cyprus. Many engines of war they built outside — stone throwers, mangonels and great trebuchets. They built, also, two great towers of timber and many movable shelters to bring against the walls. And there were many assaults by day and by night, many were the deeds of arms both without and within, and many were the wounded on both sides, for there was a great number of arbalesters. The towers of timber were drawn over the fosse. Of those within there were better troops

bailli in Syria, and Amaury Savarin another Cypriot exile, he was made one of the regents for Sicily while the emperor was away in the north. Appointed grand admiral of Sicily by Manfred in 1255, he commanded the Sicilian fleet in Manfred's attack on the Albanian coast, and was made Sicilian viceroy in Corfu and Epirus. In Corfu he gave out fiefs to several Cypriots and founded there a second colony of Cypriots, prominent among whom were members of the house of Aleman. At Manfred's death Philip declared himself independent lord of Corfu, but was murdered soon thereafter at the instigation of his second wife, a daughter of the Greek despot of Epirus. His sons, after an ineffectual resistance, made their peace with Charles of Anjou and continued in their possessions and honors in Corfu under the new dynasty.

Amaury de Bethsan married the heiress of Tricarico in Apulia and became through her lord thereof. Hugh Chabot became lord of Grumo and neighboring lands and was employed by Frederick II as ambassador to England in 1239. Hugh de Mare became lord of Campomarino and was sent as ambassador to France. John Gauvain, son of Gauvain de Chenchi, followed his uncle Philip Chenart and held lands in Apulia. These were but the nucleus of a large Cypriot colony in the imperial lands and it has been estimated that these Cypriots held nearly all the lands in the district of Bari. (See E. Bertaux, "*Les Français d'Outremer en Apulie et en Épire*," *Revue historique*, LXXXV [1904], 224-51, and the notes in G. Giudici, *Codice diplomatico del regno di Carlo I e II d'Angio*, I, 298-99, 307-10.)

on foot than of those without; by force they set them [the towers] on fire and most vigorously they [the troops within the city] resisted through fear of prison or of death. The knights outside mounted and spurred as far as the fosse; there they descended and entered into the timber towers which were burning, and they put out the fire by force and rescued them [the towers] and brought them back. Many were there of the knights wounded.

CXL. Those within spoke by night to a captain of sergeants of those outside who was named Martin Rousseau, and so much they gave him and promised him that he arranged with them to betray those outside; he made an agreement with them that he would let them know when the host should be most weakened; then would those within take up arms and come out in force. This Martin and his sergeants, who would be outside, would kill all those whom they were able; and most easily could they kill Sir Hugh and Sir Anceau de Brie, who were camped closer to the castle than the others and went most often to order the watch in the guard of the sergeants most close to the walls. This Martin Rousseau was able to do much ill for he was most familiar with the lord of Beirut and his children and he had been with them throughout most of the war. They had done much for him and trusted much in him, and the ordering of the guards around the castle was entirely in his charge, so that he sent to and received from the castle that which he wished.

CXLI. The pleasure of Our Lord was such that this treason was revealed by a man who came out of the castle. At that hour it happened that Martin Rousseau had gone to Nicosia to get arbalests and equipment which he wished to send into the castle. The lord of Beirut sent Philip de Novare, who captured him the day of Easter of May¹ and [he captured] also a master maker of arbalests, who was a liegeman

¹ Introduced from Amadi (p. 176). R. de Mas Latrie notes there that it must mean Pentecost, as Easter in 1232 was on April 11, while Pentecost was May 30.

of the king and took part in this treason and had sent them in the host many arbalests and other arms. Philip de Novare took them to the host which was before Cerines and they recognized the treason in full court. Then were they [the traitors] judged and drawn and hanged, and Martin Rousseau was thrown by a great trebuchet against the walls of the castle. Then those outside hastened much to place their engines opposite the wall.

CXLII (200). One day it happened to them by their great misfortune that Sir Anceau de Brie, who was having an engine moved up and was himself urging and hastening the others, was wounded in the thigh by an arbalest arrow two feet long. He pulled out the arrow and threw it away and thought that he had thrown away the iron, but it remained in his thigh by misadventure. He lost much blood but did not wish to say a word until the engine was moved up as it should be. Then those who were near him perceived it and they aided him so that they came to his lodging; so much had he bled that he swooned. All the host ran there and all his friends felt most great sorrow, and above all men the lord of Beirut, who called him his red lion; and he had reason, for he [Sir Anceau] cared more and labored more in the affairs of the host than any other and he was of great worth. They carried him to Nicosia to his house, where he lay in his bed half a year and over, nor could the iron ever be found until the third day before his death; and God made his commandment of him. Great sorrow therefor had the king and all the good men of Cyprus as well; but on the day when he died the lord of Beirut was in Syria, for the castle of Cerines was by then surrendered. And now you shall hear how this happened.

CXLIII (201). As you have heard, the king and his men had caused to be built many engines and had sent them forward, arranging their assault. Sir Balian d'Ibelin with his men attacked before the castle. The lord of Beirut and his children assailed the walls from all sides, and well they thought to

take it [the castle] for the engines had greatly weakened the walls. Those within were a great array of people; they feared prison or death and so defended themselves most vigorously. Those without battled stoutly and many there were who were wounded; the children of the lord of Beirut received there many perilous wounds, while of those within there were many dead and wounded. At nightfall they [the attackers] withdrew.

CXLIV (202). The lord of Beirut greatly blamed and reproached himself and said loudly so that it was clearly heard: "Alas, that this misfortune has come to me at this time and from that thing which once before happened to a man of mine own house. It was when King Amaury¹ was entering into Babylon² that he commanded Sir Hugh d'Ibelin³ to attack and storm the city of Belbeis⁴ which he had been besieging. He [Sir Hugh] replied that he would go to the assault. When he came to the fosse he put spurs to his horse and charged in. The horse broke his neck and my uncle his leg, and all the host ran to the rescue, wherefrom there resulted great damage for many of them were there killed and wounded. Sir Philip of Nablus,⁵ the good knight who was his uncle, charged into the fosse after his nephew and it happened in such wise that scarcely he avoided death."

CXLV. "So, as God willed and pleased, the city was taken;

¹ King Amaury I of Jerusalem, 1162-74.

² This incident occurred on the Egyptian campaign of 1168; here as before Philip uses the term Babylon to mean Egypt.

³ Hugh d'Ibelin, eldest son of Balian I d'Ibelin, and uncle of John of Beirut, husband of Agnes de Courtney after her divorce from Amaury, was the head of the Ibelin house from 1155 till his death in 1174.

⁴ Belbeis, Belfis, Bilbais; a city of lower Egypt, taken by Amaury on November 4, 1168.

⁵ Philip de Milly, lord of Nablus, was the son of Guy de Milly of Nablus and Stephanie; after the death of Guy, Stephanie married Baldwin of Rama, and her daughter Helvis of Rama married Balian I d'Ibelin, from which union came Hugh d'Ibelin; thus Philip was Hugh's maternal uncle. In 1161 Philip inherited the seigniorship of Crac and Montréal and was forced to yield his fief of Nablus to the crown to gain the royal consent to his inheritance of the larger fief (Strehlke, p. 3). In 1169 he resigned his fiefs to his heirs and became grand master of the Knights Templar.

and King Amaury and his men made an assize that never should a knight owe or render service in the taking of a city or of a castle or in any place where his horse could not carry him, if he were not besieged or defending his body.¹ And I, miserable unfortunate who well know the assize which was made for my own house, have now on this day exposed myself and my children and all my friends to death in the assault of a miserable castle which one of these days will surrender from famine." All those who were there comforted him and said: "Sire, do not so concern yourself with this, much more have those within lost than have you." The siege lasted a long time and very great were the expenses incurred there; great the payments made to sergeants and to galleys; most heavy were the tallages that they levied, for never would they feel secure should they not capture Cerines.

CXLVI (205). The emperor Frederick heard the news from Syria and however it was, whether he had not the leisure or that he did not wish to come, he did not come. But he sent the bishop of Sidon to Syria, with letters most friendly and flattering, saying that he did not hold for them any ill will for that which they had done, promising to pardon them and grant them his grace and calling upon them to hold themselves truly and loyally to him and to his son. Further if they [no longer]² wished his bailli who was at Tyre to be their bailli, he would right willingly agree that one of his men of the country should be their bailli at Acre and that Richard Filanger should be at Tyre. In these letters was said and expressly designated who should be the bailli; it was a knight who was at Tyre and was named Philip Maugastel.³ Little

¹ On this *Assise of Belfs*, see Schlumberger, *Campagnes du roi Amaury I*, pp. 192-93; La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy*, p. 99; Beugnot, *Assises*, I, 455 note. The ruling was probably, as Schlumberger points out, merely an order of the day and not a permanent assize, for it is not found in any of the books of assizes.

² We have inserted this for purposes of sense.

³ Philip Maugastel, son of Thomas de Maugastel, a vassal of Caesarea, was brother of Simon de Maugastel, archbishop of Tyre. He married Marguerite de Diaspre, and a sister married Daniel de Terremonde.

was he esteemed; it was said that he bedecked his face like a woman and that he was most intimate with the bailli of Tyre. In this manner the emperor thought to win over those of Syria and to divert their aid from the lord of Beirut and the Cypriots; afterwards as soon as he should have leisure he would do the worst that he could.¹

CXLVII. After the bishop of Sidon, who had come to Acre, had discussed and arranged much, the lord of Sidon and the constable² came to agreement on this thing, and they caused the people to come to the church of the Holy Cross where was the Evangel. Even while they were waiting to take oath, the good young lord of Caesarea, who was nephew of my lord of Beirut and who had come from Cyprus on his own business, heard of this thing and so came hurriedly to Acre, and in the hour when the oath was to be taken he entered into the cathedral church of the Holy Cross and he ordered the bell of the commune to be sounded. When the Brotherhood of St. Andrew heard it they rushed to arms,³ and they all shouted: "Kill! Kill!"

CXLVIII. The bishop of Sidon saw them and fled from them into the house of the bishop of Acre and was hidden in the chapel; if the lord of Caesarea had not come, the bishop of Sidon would have been killed that day and the lord of Sidon and the constable also. But the lord of Caesarea restored peace and led them both out of the place with him,

¹ Actually, and allowing for Philip's violent prejudice, this seems to have been a sincere attempt on the part of the emperor to make concessions to the Syrian barons. Henry and the lord of Beirut were attempting to win over men to their side by granting fiefs, but the majority of the Syrian barons were staunchly loyal to Conrad and the emperor, though they objected to the excesses of Filanger. By appointing a native baron of good family and connections as joint bailli with Filanger, the emperor thought to remove some of the causes of complaint of the Syrians and strengthen his position. It is worth noting that Balian of Sidon and Eudes de Montbéliard were satisfied with this arrangement, though they had previously refused to recognize Filanger as bailli and continued to consider themselves the only true baillies of the emperor in Syria.

² Eudes de Montbéliard had succeeded to Garnier l'Aleman as Balian of Sidon's colleague in the bailliage.

³ Amadi (p. 179) adds "and a great party of Genoese."

and he at once made known all these things to his uncle, the lord of Beirut, who was in Cyprus at the siege of the castle of Cerines.¹ At once the lord of Beirut left the siege and left in his place Sir Balian, his oldest son, and King Henry; he wished to take with him Philip de Novare but this Sir Balian would not suffer.

CXLIX. The lord of Beirut went to Acre and so arranged and ordered that the oaths of the Pullani were all renewed and he was mayor once again. The bishop of Sidon sent to the lord of Beirut, praying for God, for his honor and for his profit that he would allow him to be conducted before him, for he wished to speak with him. And the lord of Beirut replied that in the name of God he should come. And he sent for him [the bishop] and had him conducted there. And as soon as he [the bishop] was in his [Ibelin's] presence he read a letter from the emperor in which he [the emperor] sent greetings and credentials.

¹ John d'Ibelin of Jaffa, in the *Assises de Jérusalem*, II, 399, has another account of this same episode: "And when the emperor returned he left in his place the lord of Sidon and Sir Garnier l'Aleman. Sir Garnier l'Aleman was a little while [in office] and became a brother of the Temple, and the constable entered into his place. Afterwards it happened that the emperor sent a bishop into this country, with letters to the lord of Sidon and to the constable, commanding that Sir Philip de Maugastel should be placed in charge of the lordship. The lord of Sidon and the constable assembled the liegemen at the church of the Holy Cross and the patriarch Gerold was there. They caused to be read the letters which contained the command of the emperor stated above. My cousin Sir John, the lord of Caesarea, came there and pronounced the reply for the liegemen, since the lord of Beirut and all of us were in Cyprus; he told how the emperor and the constable and the lord of Sidon, who were there, had sworn when they remained in his place to hold to the assizes and the good usages and good customs of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and that he himself and all the other liegemen were held by their faith — and especially those who held the lordships were held thereto by their faith and by their oath — to hold and maintain the assizes and the good usages and the good customs of the said kingdom; that this which the emperor ordered was contrary to these assizes and to the usages because he wished to undo by letters that which he had done before the court, and that this thing they could not permit nor suffer for the reasons above said. So great was the clamor that the bell of the commune was sounded and the bishop left, and the lord of Sidon and the constable remained as they were in the administration of the lordship. The lord of Sidon died and the constable remained in the administration of the lordship.

CL (207). The bishop said: "Sire, it is stated in these letters that you should believe me. The emperor sends you word that he repents much of all that which has been between you and him and he will conduct himself in the future in such a manner towards you that you and all yours shall be wealthy and richly established. But he wishes that you should yield him a point of honor so that people will not be able to say that you have conquered him; the honor which he requires of you is that you should come into some place where it seems that he has dominion and that you should say most simply, in this manner or in some other: 'I place myself at the mercy of the emperor as my lord.' " To this replied my lord of Beirut: "Sir bishop, at the end of my words I will make answer to your request, but before that I will tell you as an example a story which is written in the book of the fables of Renard. It is my opinion that it will apply well to this argument which you have advanced.

CLI. "It so happened, in a forest heavily wooded and full of all manner of beasts, that there was a great lion, and he was most gloomy, sick, and melancholy. One day as he was lying before the entrance of his cave he saw pass by a large group of stags, young and of that season. The lion said to his private household: 'If I do not eat that young stag which goes in front of the others the physicians have told me that I shall die.' So he sent to the stag praying in the name of God that he come and talk to him for he was so sick that he was dying; the stag right gladly went as to his lord. As soon as he had entered the cave the lion hastened to seize him, he sprang upon him, striking him upon the head with his paw so that he pulled off the skin as far as his muzzle. The stag was strong and sound and the lion feeble and sick, so he fell backwards from his own blow. The stag went away with his head bleeding and said that never would he enter his court again. Meanwhile the stag recovered from his wounds.

CLII. "A long time after, it happened that the lion sent to

the stag and said that, God help him, he had thought to receive him joyfully at the entrance of his house and to embrace him. Thus it had happened by misfortune that his claws had caught in his head, and he in his feebleness in falling had clawed him against his will. Now he prayed in God's name that he come to him. There were so many prayers that he went again. The lion went out to meet him and sprang to seize him; his paws came down on him as far as his tail, all along the length of his back, and he tore two great gouges. The stag leapt violently, being wounded. The lion was still feeble and fell from his own blow; the stag took to flight and was for a long time sick from these wounds, almost an entire year.

CLIII. "At the end of the year the lion again sent to him some of his barons, and so much they swore and prayed him that the stag was betrayed and came again to court. The lion had improved and he established his private retainers who took the stag and killed it; and he commanded that it should be skinned and dressed and opened and cleaned for he wished to eat it. The beasts who ate meat, like Yzengrim and Renard, occupied themselves with preparing it. Renard put in his muzzle and took the heart and ate it. The other beasts were most frightened. The lion took notice of it and, as a traitor, strove to excuse himself by his words; he said: 'Lords, do not think that I have killed this stag through felony or treachery, but to cure me have I done it, for all the physicians said that I could not live if I did not eat the heart of this stag!'

CLIV. "The heart could not be found for Renard had already eaten it. The lion swore that Renard had done it because his beard was bloody; each pointed a finger at him and all said in judgment that Renard should die therefor. Renard, declaring in full audience that he was obedient to the command of the king, placed himself at the judgment of the court. 'Lords,' said this Renard, 'the stag came once to court and went away with a bloody head; another time it came back and left

with two gouges in its back; the third time it came to die as meekly as those who have no heart, for if it had had a heart it would not have come back the third time; and a proverb says, "That which is not cannot be found." The stag had no heart, and I have not eaten it. My muzzle is bloody from skinning and opening it. I pray each in his place that, by God and for his soul, he judge me.' They all said with one voice that the stag had no heart and so was Renard freed.

CLV (208). "And I say to you, Sir Bishop," said the lord of Beirut, "that that which I have told is well an example of the emperor and myself. He is the lion and I am the stag; two times has he deceived me — the first time at Limassol from which I had a bloody head, the second time when I left Dieu-damor, the castle, and came to him. Against the agreements he kept the fortresses and all Cyprus in his possession and then sold the king and Cyprus to mine enemies. These were the two gouges in my back. And if I should now place myself for the third time at his mercy I grant that I may be slain as was the stag, and it would be judged of a surety that I had no heart. Wherefore I say to you, Sir Bishop, and I wish that he should know well, that he will never have me in his power: moreover, if against my will by some misfortune I shall ever be before him, and he shall have all of his strength and I shall have neither children nor friends nor greater strength than the little finger of my hand, with that will I defend myself until death." And so ended his words.

CLVI (209). When the lord of Beirut had well established his position in Syria, he left in Syria in his place his nephew, the lord of Caesarea, and at once returned to Cyprus. The siege of the castle of Cerines lasted more than a year. Those within had suffered many things and they knew that no aid could come to them from the emperor, and they had heard that the bailli of Tyre was treating, wherefore they spoke of peace. Sir Arneis de Gibelet and Philip de Novare concluded

this peace; the result was that they surrendered the castle and the walls and all the arms and provisions which they had brought and found therein.¹

CLVII. Philip de Novare freed to them as many galleys and vessels as they had need of to go to Tyre safely and securely, they and their belongings. Such was the covenant that, as soon as they were at Tyre, the lord of Beirut should go to Acre and take with him all the prisoners who had been taken in the battle and who yet lived, and they should render to him his own men who had been taken at Casal Imbert and who were at Tyre. So was it done as he had said. He took the prisoners to Acre;² it had been arranged in advance that the prisoners should be taken by both sides to the middle of the road between Tyre and Acre, and there the ones were exchanged for the others. Then did Cyprus remain in peace; but in Syria remained an evil nest for Sir Richard Filanger and his brothers and many Longobards remained at Tyre.³

¹ Jauna (I, 555) says that Cerines was placed under the command of Baldwin de Brie, the brother of "Anrian de Brie" who was killed in the siege.

² Amadi (p. 182) says fifty prisoners.

³ Philip de Novare, who was interested only in the Ibelin-Longobard struggle, leaves the course of events here and passes straight on to the death of John d'Ibelin in 1236. The struggle between Ibelin and the emperor continued, and the pope interfered in behalf of Frederick as has already been seen. Novare never mentions the fact that Ibelin opposed the pope and leaves out altogether the story of the embassies which passed between Syria and Rome. The *Eracles* (pp. 406-7) gives the story of some of these negotiations: "At this time [wrongly dated 1233: should be 1235] the men of the kingdom of Jerusalem sent messengers to Rome, at the instigation of Herman the master of the Hospital of the Teutons, to treat of peace between them and the emperor. The messengers were two knights of Acre, Philip de Troyes and Henry de Nazareth. When they had come to Rome they did that which the master of the Teutons wished, entirely according to the will of the emperor, and they had sealed letters of the covenants of peace. When they returned to Acre and delivered the letters, which were read, and when those of the kingdom heard the manner of the peace by the tenor of the letters, they were most angered and well they had cause therefor. For this peace was to their shame and loss and was contrary to the powers and instructions which the messengers had had, so that they blamed them and held them traitors and false, and little they failed to do them bodily harm. The men of the kingdom took counsel and by agreement sent to the king of Cyprus; so it happened that the king of Cyprus and the men of the kingdom of Jerusalem sent a common messenger on both their parts to Rome to the Apostle, to excuse themselves and to show the reasons why they should not receive this peace. They sent to the pope concerning this thing because this false peace had

CLVIII (212). Four years after the peace, and this was in the year 1236, my lord John d'Ibelin, the good lord of Beirut who well recognized the great grace which Our Lord had shown him and the great honors, because of a beast which fell upon him, made his testament in such orderly manner that all the people marveled at his very great memory. For his sins he made amends, and for many things he made amends which most men would not hold as sins; his debts he paid for he had at that day great belongings and property besides his fiefs, and all he gave for God and for his soul, by his own hand with good memory; many fiefs he gave to his children, and commanded that they should be the vassals of and hold from their eldest brother.

CLIX. After this he made himself a brother of the Temple as he had vowed. His children offered great opposition and all

been made before him and with his knowledge. The envoy whom they sent was a knight of Cyprus who was born in Syria but had gone to live in Cyprus on a great fief which King Henry had given him. And later he made him chamberlain of Cyprus; the knight was named Geoffrey le Tor; and in all this King Henry put himself in the community with the men of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

"With this message, that this peace of which we have spoken resulted greatly to his [the king's] damage, Geoffrey le Tor left Cyprus and came to Acre and received the letters of the barons of the land and their charges, in addition to those which he had received from the king of Cyprus; he entered a ship of the Genoese and passed therein to Genoa, and from there he went to Viterbo, where was the pope with all his court. He carried presents fine and rich to the pope and to the cardinals, and he delivered his messages and showed the pope the points wherein and the reasons whereby this peace ought not to be received. The pope received him well and heard him willingly and replied to him that he did not marvel at all if they refused it, for in that which it did he held it false and evil. He could not do anything else, for the envoys who made it said that they had commands to do that which they did; if they [the barons] said that they did not wish to approve them [the envoys] it was within their power; he would not force them at all but he promised them the aid and the support of the Church. He sent letters in which he told them that he wished the two kingdoms should take the same action. And he sent to Acre, to the three religious Orders and to the communes, requesting that the king of Cyprus and his land and those of the kingdom of Jerusalem should be assisted in guarding and defending themselves and their rights; and he commanded them expressly thereon, and to the podesta of Genoa and the commune he sent this same word. All these letters and many others Geoffrey le Tor received from Pope Gregory that he should carry them, and so he returned to Genoa and there entered a ship and crossed to Acre from which he went to Cyprus."

The first peace was made while pope and emperor were allied; the embassy of Geoffrey came to Gregory after he had again broken with Frederick.

the people of the country felt great sorrow therefor, but naught did it avail, for he entered the Temple in spite of them, and that most tranquilly, and had himself taken to Acre. Not long did he remain a brother and at his death so fine an end did he make that only with marvel could one believe the truth which all attested. When he had to surrender his soul he asked that the crucifix be brought to him. Philip de Novare carried it before him and he held out his hands, and he kissed the feet of Our Lord Jesus Christ and said as well as he was able: "In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum." And thus he rendered his spirit to God. The body did not change in death, and if one believes that good souls go before God, one can be certain that his soul went there to paradise. Now Sir Balian, his son, who well demeaned himself and vigorously, remained lord of Beirut in his place; and he had good brothers and cousins and good friends who well aided him.

CLX (221). The Longobards being then at Tyre and for a while tranquil and at peace, Richard Filanger, the marshal of the emperor, so arranged and secured that he attracted to his party the brothers of the Hospital and two important burghesses of Acre who had very great power over the people of the city. One was named John Vaalin and the other William de Conches. At this time it so happened that in Acre there were none of the party of the Ibelins, save only one alone who was named Sir Philip de Montfort.¹ He had come across the sea when the king of Navarre came to Acre. He had married a noble lady of the country, who was called the lady of Toron,² and because of her was he called the lord of Toron; by his mother was he cousin german of Sir Balian the younger, lord of Beirut, and of his brothers.³

¹ Philip de Montfort, lord of Castres in Albigeois, son of Guy de Montfort and consequently nephew of Simon de Montfort, conqueror of the Albigensians, and cousin of the celebrated earl of Leicester.

² Marie of Antioch-Tripoli, daughter of Raymond Rupin and Helvis de Lusignan, inherited the title to Toron (which was in Saracen hands) from her grandmother, Alice of Armenia, sometime after 1236. In 1240 she married Philip de Montfort.

³ His mother was Helvis d'Ibelin, sister of John of Beirut; she was known as the Lady of Sidon.

CLXI. At that time Sir Balian d'Ibelin, lord of Beirut, had returned from the host of the king of Navarre, where he had been for a long time and had made a great name; and he sojourned in Beirut. His two brothers, Sir Guy and Sir Baldwin, who were later of so great importance, were then in Cyprus. Sir Hugh, their brother, and the young lord of Caesarea had already passed from this world, wherefor was great sorrow and loss to all their friends and to the two kingdoms. Sir John of Foggia, their brother, was at Arsur;¹ and Eudes de Montbéliard, the constable, who had married their cousin² and was in the place of the bailli at Acre,³ was at that time at Caesarea, both he and the Templars in the host with part of the knights of the country. And because of all this Richard Filanger could undertake this enterprise more securely.

CLXII (222). Thus it happened that the bailli of Tyre, Sir Richard Filanger, who had spied and discovered much and had made the arrangements with those two burgesses above mentioned, set out and came secretly and by night to Acre, and entered, by a false postern which is in the wall, into the garden of the Hospital; from there he went directly to the Hospital of St. John and there he was received and remained a day and a night. This postern is still called the Gate of Evil Entry. The two burgesses above named went to the Hospital and conferred with him. They went afterwards through the city seeking those sworn to them and made all those who were willing to believe them swear to be at the command of the bailli who had come from Tyre.

CLXIII. Their deeds were revealed by certain of those sworn to them so that Philip de Montfort learned of them, and there was a great tumult in the city. He set out in arms with as many men as he was able to raise. The Genoese and

¹ The *Gestes* says Tyre; but this is obviously an error. Kohler corrected.

² Eschive de Tiberias, the daughter of Renaud de Tiberias and Marguerite d'Ibelin, half-sister through her mother of John of Caesarea.

³ Amadi (p. 187) explains that Balian of Sidon, who had been bailli in Acre, was dead; but Eudes had become bailli as colleague with Balian when Garnier l'Aleman resigned the bailliage.

Venetians, who did not love the emperor or his people, armed at once and fortified their street within the hour. Sir Philip de Montfort so acted that he took the two burgesses and put them in good irons. He sent at once to make known this state of affairs to the lord of Beirut. The latter came hastily and brought all his forces and a great number of sergeants of the mountains. In very great haste he came and passed before the gates of Tyre. Richard Filanger, the bailli, who was at Acre hidden in the Hospital, learned of the coming of the lord of Beirut and the capture of his two friends. At once he fled by night through the false postern and came back to Tyre. And by very little did he fail to encounter the lord of Beirut.

CLXIV. When the lord of Beirut entered Acre, at once was all the city at his command. And he was given to understand that the Hospital had been a party to this deed. He besieged the Hospital on all sides and pressed it most closely and caused it grief, and he was able to do this easily for the master, Brother Peter de Villebride,¹ and the chapter of the Hospital were then at the castle of Margat² on account of a war which they were waging with the sultan of Aleppo³ for the possession of the marshes of Margat and the city of Gibel.⁴ The lord of Beirut learned then that Richard Filanger, the bailli, had fled from the Hospital and gone to Tyre. The constable and the men of the country who were at Caesarea returned from the host and were at the command of the lord of Beirut and they remained thus for a long time at Acre.

CLXV (223). The lord of Beirut besieged the house of the Hospital of St. John at Acre for about six months,⁵ so that

¹ Peter de Villebride, grand master of Hospital, 1239/40-43.

² Margat or Markab, a castle just south of Laodicea, belonging to the Hospital. Its ruins still give an idea of its strength; it was the Order's chief stronghold in Antioch.

³ Nasir Salah ed Din Yusuf, sultan of Aleppo, 1236-60, the last Ayyubite sultan of Aleppo.

⁴ Gibel is a city on the coast just south of Margat and north of Tortosa.

⁵ This siege would seem from Philip's evidence and from the logical development of the events to have taken place in 1241, although the *Annales de Terre Sainte* (p. 441) place it in 1243, after the capture of Tyre. Ryccardus de San Ger-

no one was allowed to enter or issue out of the house, without his being able to do anything more, for too many good men were defending themselves in the house; but there were but few of the brothers because the master and the chapter were away as you have already heard. At this the master and the chapter of the Hospital agreed to the termination of their campaign and came back towards Acre and encamped outside the city in their new vineyard.

CLXVI. Mutual friends intervened and made an accord between them and the lord of Beirut, and the siege of the house was abandoned, whereby the lord of Beirut acknowledged himself most guilty towards the house for this deed and begged their pardon. And he said to them publicly that certain people who did not love the Hospital had caused him to do this by giving him to understand that those things which Richard Filanger desired to do in the city of Acre and all this disturbance had been through the arrangement and adherence of the house of the Hospital, that Richard Filanger was still within the house of the Hospital, and that for this reason had he besieged the house. Wherefore he had the greatest possible regret.

CLXVII. Then the master of the Hospital said to the lord of Beirut: "Lord of Beirut, you should not believe that the house of the Hospital would undertake or be party to so great an enterprise when we and our chapter were away from Acre and at such a distance and so engaged as we were outside of the castle of Margat, and had left so few brothers in the house at Acre, as everyone knows. And even were it that certain of our brothers who were then in the house might have been in any way evilly engaged in this thing, because of this the whole house ought not be charged with an accusation so foul nor incur such great shame as to be besieged for such a reason. Nevertheless, since the matters have been settled to

mano (p. 382) says that the city of Acre rebelled against the emperor in 1241, presumably October, which would date the siege from October, 1241, to April, 1242.

the satisfaction of both parties, these things which are past should be entirely forgotten."

HOW RICHARD FILANGER DEPARTED FROM TYRE TO GO ACROSS THE SEA

CLXVIII (224). At this time or a little before it happened that the emperor Frederick had sent word to Sir Richard Filanger, his bailli who was at Tyre, that he should come to him, for he wished to send to Syria another in his place. The above-mentioned Sir Richard departed from Tyre and with him Sir Henry his brother, John of Sorrento his nephew, and their wives and children and all their households.¹ So they boarded a great ship and went away in it. And at his departure he left in his place Lothaire his brother and sufficient men at arms with him with whom he should govern Tyre, for he was marshal of the kingdom of Jerusalem on behalf of the emperor.² The men of Tyre greatly hated the Longobards and so came four of them³ to the lord of Beirut and offered to surrender the city of Tyre to him, and arranged with him the manner; he held council thereon with Sir Philip de Montfort, lord of Toron, and with Philip de Novare who was very close to him. The council concurred in this, that he should come to an agreement with these men. Then he received the oaths of the four burgesses of Tyre.

CLXIX (225). On this Philip de Novare took thought by night and came to his lord, the lord of Beirut, and said to him: "Sire, I have thought of something which will save you from blame. You know that you and the others of the kingdom of Jerusalem did homage to the emperor for the bailliage for his

¹ The *Eracles* (p. 422) and Amadi (p. 192) record Filanger's departure only after the meeting of the high court which elected Queen Alice to the seigniory.

² The *Gestes* here adds: "when Richard Filanger had departed." Filanger was marshal of the Empire, not of Syria; if Lothaire was made marshal of Jerusalem by Frederick this is the only evidence for it.

³ Amadi (p. 189) says four Venetian and Genoese burgesses. This would accord well with what Marsiglio Georgio says concerning the initiation of the plans for the capture of Tyre. (See Appendix.)

son, King Conrad. You have well kept your faith always and he has badly kept¹ his, as is evident. I now inform you that King Conrad is of age² and for this reason are you quit of the emperor; but it would be well that everyone know this before you take Tyre or before you take from him his bailliage, for still will they cry the ban of the emperor at Tyre as bailli, and you will thus be able to hold a good and honorable path if you so desire.

CLXX. "For it is the custom in the kingdom of Jerusalem that the most lawful heir who is the most apparent should receive the heritage by right until a more lawful heir thereof shall come; you have in this city my lady Queen Alice, mother of King Henry, who is your cousin german, and she is the most lawful heir apparent of the kingdom of Jerusalem as she is the daughter of Queen Isabelle, who was herself lawful heir of the kingdom as daughter of King Amaury. It is true that King Conrad is descended from the older sister and if he were present he should have the heritage, but until he shall come she is the most lawful heir apparent."³

CLXXI. "Because of this I advise that you have assembled all those of the kingdom of Jerusalem and that Queen Alice appear before them and demand the kingdom of Jerusalem by the right above stated, and show how you are quit of the emperor. Thereafter you shall so arrange that the queen shall enter into her seigniory, and when she shall demand Tyre, if

¹ The phrase "has badly kept" is omitted in *Gestes*, and introduced by Kohler from Amadi (p. 189). I am inclined to wonder whether this should have been inserted. Even Philip would have had trouble in showing how Balian kept his faith and Frederick did not.

² Conrad was born April 25, 1228, so came of age at fifteen on April 25, 1243. It is on the basis of this that the capture of Tyre is dated in 1243 (see note on chap. CLXXXIX).

³ It should be remembered that in 1229 Alice had claimed the kingdom as the heir of Isabelle and that the high court had refused her claims on the ground that Conrad was the rightful heir. Philip does not here urge that she claim the kingdom but only that she claim the bailliage as heir apparent for Conrad, who by the law of the country had a year and a day after reaching his majority to present himself in person to claim his inheritance; she should receive the inheritance until he comes in person to claim it.

it be not surrendered to her or to her command or to her service, with the consent which you have of the people of the city, if God wills, you will take the city of Tyre most rightly and with great honor to yourself and you will drive out the Longobards from all Syria."

CLXXII. When the lord of Beirut heard this argument he was much pleased therewith and well agreed to it. At once he sent for my lord Philip de Montfort, lord of Toron; and Philip de Novare by the command of the lord of Beirut, his lord, retold to the lord of Toron all that he had said before. He [de Montfort] agreed at once and strongly advised the attempt, and he had faith in it and pointed out good reasons — sufficient for him who was most wise and well advised. At once they informed Philip de Novare that he should go to Queen Alice and to Sir Ralph de Soissons, a noble baron of France who was her husband.¹

CLXXIII. Philip de Novare told them the desire of the magnates above named, who were both cousins german of Queen Alice. And much they had therefrom of joy, and they said to Philip de Novare that they wished he might be the knife and they the meat that he could carve and divide at his will. Philip discussed the matter and came and went until all was prepared. And many were the covenants. Among other things it was agreed and sworn that the lord of Beirut and he of Toron should hold and equip all the fortresses of the kingdom in order that, if King Conrad should come there, they would be able to do that which they should. Between Philip de Novare and a burgess named Philip de Bauduyn, who was wise and most intimate with the lord of Toron, were drawn up and written all the covenants so secretly that no word of it was known throughout the country.

CLXXIV (226). The lord of Beirut and the lord of Toron

¹ Ralph de Soissons was the younger brother of the count of Soissons; he had come to Syria with the crusade of Thibaut, king of Navarre, and had married the wealthy, if aging, Queen Alice.

caused to assemble all the liegemen of the seigniorship of Acre at the house of the patriarch of Jerusalem.¹ The Genoese and the Venetians and the Pisans² were there and all the brotherhoods of the city also. Queen Alice and her husband, Ralph de Soissons, came there: Philip de Novare, who was of their council presented their claims, stating most clearly all the reasons and the claims which you have already heard: that Queen Alice was the most lawful heir apparent to have and to hold the seigniorship of the kingdom of Jerusalem; wherefore she and her husband requested their homage and the service of the realm. Then they offered to maintain the good usages and good customs of the kingdom.

CLXXV. Those of the kingdom betook themselves to one side and they called Philip de Novare to their council and they asked counsel of him and authority on which to make reply. He pointed out to them all the reasons which you have already heard: how that Queen Alice was the most legal heir apparent and how they were quit of the emperor Frederick since his son Conrad was of age; and well he advised them and counseled them that they should place Queen Alice in seisin of the kingdom of Jerusalem, as the most legal heir apparent, and

¹ This was June 5, 1243. The patriarch was absent, and the archbishop of Tyre was acting as his representative. There are four major accounts of this important meeting of the high court, that of Marsiglio Georgio, that of John d'Ibelin of Jaffa, that of Novare, and that of the *Eracles*. The three other than Novare's are given in our appendix. The account of Marsiglio Georgio is especially valuable in establishing the exact dates. The *Annales de Terre Sainte* (p. 441) places the entire series of events under 1242 and says only: "In this year Queen Alice demanded the kingdom of Jerusalem so that the men of Acre received her as their lady, and they did homage to her and to her husband, Ralph de Soissons; and the men of Acre and the lord of Beirut went and drove the Longobards from Tyre and from Syria and they took the bailli of Tyre and the ship wherein he was, as he was returning, by fortune." The shorter text of the *Annales* errs in saying that Alice was "received as queen" and that the lord of Arsuf took Tyre.

² This inclusion of the Pisans is a mistake; Amadi (p. 190) says definitely "and not the Pisans because they were partial to the emperor." This is much more in line with Pisan policy, which was firmly Ghibelline. Röhricht accepts them as being present at this council, but I do not see how they could have been; Marsiglio Georgio does not include them, nor do any of the other accounts.

should perform homage and service to her on such terms that as soon as King Conrad should come to the kingdom of Jerusalem they would be quit of Queen Alice and could render to him that which they owed.

CLXXVI. To the advice of Philip de Novare the whole court agreed and they prayed him that he himself should make their replies to Queen Alice, and he did so right willingly. Thus it was that it was said of him in jest that he himself presented the claim, made the reply, and gave the decision. Then was Queen Alice put in seisin of the kingdom of Jerusalem. First of them all did homage the lord of Beirut and next the lord of Toron and afterwards all the other knights of Acre. And this was in the year 1242 [1243].

CLXXVII. Philip de Novare was honored and enriched thereby, for the queen gave him a thousand besants saracen in fief and caused to be paid his debts which amounted to as much as a thousand marks of silver. Philip was bailli and master in all¹ and so well did he collect the rentals that within three days he paid the mercenaries and the galleys which were going to the siege of Tyre; for Queen Alice had already demanded Tyre and the Longobards had refused to surrender it. Sir Ralph de Soissons, the husband of the said Queen Alice, and my lord of Beirut and the lord of Toron retained a great number of mercenaries and armed galleys. And Philip de Novare bought a great ship for those of the seigniori, which was well equipped with men at arms. The Genoese and the Venetians went there and a great many men there were.

CLXXVIII. The host set out by night both by land and by sea and besieged Tyre. The lord of Beirut so arranged that he spoke with some of those who previously had agreed to surrender the city as you have heard; they were not able

¹ Amadi (p. 192) says "was bailli and master of the revenues"; Rohricht (p. 857) thinks that Philip de Montfort is meant here, but as we see Philip de Novare equipping the ship it seems more natural to think that he is meant, especially as he mentions it immediately after telling of his financial gains.

to proceed in the manner upon which they had agreed for surrendering the city, but they informed him that there was a postern near the street of the butchers on the side towards the sea, and if he wished to pass with his host by the coast and the galleys could come by the chain of the port, they would open the postern and undo the chain of the port and he would be able thus to enter safely. Those within Tyre who were of his party would rise in arms against the men of the emperor. When the lord of Beirut heard this he promised so to do it, but [insisted] that those within must not fail him. The burgesses replied that they would do it without fail.

CLXXIX. Now the lord of Beirut had the host arrayed by land and by sea and arranged signals between himself and those of the land; and this burgess who spoke to the lord of Beirut repeated all this to the other burgesses who were in agreement with him, and when they saw the opportunity they gave the signals; when these were seen, the lord of Beirut gave the call to arms and commanded those on the galleys to set out and to enter into the port even though in so doing all should die. Then he mounted, both he and his men,¹ to that place where his friends awaited him near the postern of the butchers' street. The sea was high and the horses fell on the stones and many people were in danger of death. He who carried the banner fell into the sea, [and he was] a young knight who was the son of Philip de Novare named Balian after the lord of Beirut who was his godfather. But he reached down and recovered the banner which floated in the sea and carried it thereafter until the capture of the city.

CLXXX. The lord of Beirut and his men entered the city by the postern most stoutly and very nearly were they slain by those in the towers and defenses. All those of the galleys entered also most bravely. When the other men of the host, who did not know what this was, saw them they ran through

¹ The *Gestes* adds: "and they spurred on and went by the sea along the walls of the city by the Hospital of the Teutons."

all the parts of the city. Sir Ralph de Soissons mounted on the walls most stoutly,¹ and the lord of Toron followed the lord of Beirut through the postern. The people of the city, seeing them entering in such numbers, fell upon the Longobards. When Lothaire Filanger heard and was aware of these deeds and accomplishments he armed and, leaving the house where he was, went running to the castle, and all those of Apulia who were in the city ran to the castle vying with each other. Many there were who were slain or taken and they lost whatever they possessed in the city.

CLXXXI. Thus was taken the city of Tyre which was one of the strongest in the world. Those who had taken the city set themselves to besieging the castle, and very closely they pressed it, for many men there were at the siege and a great plenty of foot soldiers.² Many engines and stone throwers were made, which bombarded the castle and tormented those within in so far as they were able. Sir Lothaire Filanger, who was a wise and vigorous knight and was captain within and had a goodly company of men at arms with him to defend the castle, defended it most vigorously so that those outside gained naught from them.

CLXXXII (228). While those outside held the castle besieged such an adventure came to them as you shall hear by which they accomplished their intentions in regard to the said castle, wherein Our Lord gave them exceeding grace. For Sir Richard Filanger who had left Tyre, he and his people, in his great ship to go to Apulia, as you have heard above, was driven by the weather to Barbary and so battered was his ship that they were all in peril of drowning.³ He and his people

¹ According to the *Eracles* (p. 423) Ralph de Soissons came to Tyre only after the capture of the city. Marsiglio says the queen came later but does not mention Ralph.

² Amadi (p. 194) adds: "and the major part were Genoese and Venetians."

³ From Amadi (p. 194); the *Gestes* reads: "when they had been nine days on the sea fortune took them to Barbary. There they found their ship in sorry state in that it let in water in several places." This is also found in *Eracles*, p. 426.

gathered themselves in the ship's skiff with many belongings which they were carrying. But before this they had taken a little vessel from the Saracens which the Saracens call in their language a *karaque*;¹ and he had put in it one of his good friends, named Peter de Grail, who was in his company and was a great and fine man of war. And much he aided him in descending from his ship into the skiff and into the *karaque* and in collecting him and his belongings.

CLXXXIII. They did not dare take to the open sea because they had so small a vessel, though gladly would they have gone to Sicily, but the weather was much against them so they returned along the coast to Syria, as God willed. And the will of Our Lord was such that from Barbary the weather drove them as far as the port of Tyre, and they did not know the news. They arrived by night, like those who thought themselves to be in safety to come to their houses, since they did not know anything of the things which had happened in the city of Tyre; for had they known they would have gone on to Tripoli or Armenia. They arrived and furled their sails directly beside the great ship which Philip de Novare had bought and equipped for the seigniory when they had come to the siege. They demanded whose was the ship. From this it was that those on the ship recognized them and took them and their goods and brought them onto the ship.

CLXXXIV. The news came to the lord of Beirut that Richard Filanger had come into the port. And he informed the lord of Toron, and those two went to Sir Ralph de Soissons. A clamor was raised throughout all the city; all the people ran to the port and many went out in barges and in other vessels to the said *karaque*. Sir Ralph de Soissons and the lord of Beirut halted at the chain and sent the lord of Toron and Philip de Novare on to the ship. These captured Richard Filanger and all his company and whatever he had of

¹ A *karaque* or carrack was a three-masted vessel, high pooped, with square sails forward and a lateen sail on the aftermast.

goods and other riches, without any resistance being made by him or by any of his men for they had no strength, and they took them to land where they were sent to the lodgings of Sir Ralph de Soissons; the women and children pelted them with stones so that almost they slew him and those who led him.

CLXXXV. The lord of Beirut requested that he might have them in his prison, as his mortal enemies who had destroyed his castle of Beirut and done him great injury. Sir Ralph de Soissons did not wish to surrender them to him. Philip de Novare said to him: "In the name of God, Sire, grant them to him, for he [Filanger] will have such great fear of him that now he will surrender to you the castle." At this he granted them and delivered them to him; and the lord of Beirut made such chains of iron as the emperor had made for him when he held him prisoner and hostage at Limassol. And he [Filanger] had great fear of him and of his company. Then it was that Sir John d'Ibelin, who was later count of Jaffa, came to the siege of the castle of Tyre. They were in council and caused it to be said to Sir Richard Filanger and to his company that they should arrange that the castle should be surrendered or they would have him hanged by the neck in front of those of the castle.

CLXXXVI. Sir Richard Filanger sent a messenger to Sir Lothaire, his brother who was captain of the castle, and informed him of his condition. No one knew for truth what he told him or what he replied by this messenger, but it was well known that he replied to those outside that they could do what they willed with his brother and nephew for he would never surrender the castle. Then forked gibbets were set up and put on a high tower which is very close against the castle. Sir Richard Filanger and his brother and nephew were led thereon, and they had their eyes covered with bandages and nooses around their necks. They were hauled up to the gibbets with ropes tied around their feet; and one need only to pull

the ends of the ropes and the slipknots would tighten and each would remain hanging by the neck.

CLXXXVII. Sir Lothaire saw them in this plight and he had great sorrow and pity for them, and he cried out.¹ Philip de Novare was sent there. Peace was arranged and made by him in such manner that they surrendered the castle and Philip de Novare received it, and he swore to them and caused it to be sworn that Sir Richard Filanger and all his company would be freed and all the things which had been taken with him would also be returned to him, and the prisoners would be surrendered safe and whole; also those of the castle would be conducted to safety with all their goods and one of the men of the Ibelins would go with them and conduct them in safety at their request wherever they wished to go. And in this same covenant it was agreed that that which was owing to the mercenaries of the castle should be paid them, and that the losses which they had incurred in the city, when they fled unexpectedly to the castle, should be requited.

CLXXXVIII. So long did Philip de Novare remain in the castle in establishing the covenants that those outside thought that those within had killed him; so that barely did Sir Balian refrain from killing Sir Richard Filanger and all his company; the lord of Beirut himself commanded Balian, son of the said Philip de Novare, and said that "if it be found that your father has been killed, kill them all with your own hand."

CLXXXIX. When Philip de Novare had perfectly ordered and established these covenants with those of the castle, he came out and related all that he had done, and all was approved and carried out completely with great joy and good will and great willingness. And there was much given which Philip did not arrange by covenant. Early next morning they came out of the castle, and Philip de Novare delivered the fortress to the lord of Beirut and to the lord of Toron, who

¹ Amadi (p. 196) adds: "and he cried out to those without that they should delay and send someone to speak to him."

were to guard the fortresses, as was contained in the covenants which had been made at Acre between Queen Alice and them. Sir John d'Ibelin conducted the Longobards there where they wished to go. Thus was rooted out and cast away the evil nest of the Longobards so that never after did they have any power in Syria or in Cyprus. Thus was taken the city of Tyre and the castle in the year 1242 [1243].¹

[The king of Cyprus and the house of Ibelin lived a long time thereafter in great honor, and they governed and maintained the two realms of Jerusalem and Cyprus in good condition with the thanks of all the people, as those who knew how to maintain each in his rights by their loyalty, goodness, and liberality to all; but because it is too long a story to attempt to tell all that they did in their lives, I shall be silent, assuring you that in all Christendom there is not a more valiant house than that of the Ibelins.]²

¹ This should be 1243. These erroneous dates are not found in Amadi and Kohler attributes them to the compiler of the *Gestes*. The correct dating of the capture of Tyre is easily established by the letter of Marsiglio Georgio written in October, 1243, in which he reports the events of June of that year. An earlier date would be impossible as the attack on Tyre could not have been undertaken until after April 25, 1243, when Conrad came of age. Ibelin and Novare both attest that it was after the recognition of Alice that the attack was made. Huillard-Bréholles (*Historia diplomatica*, Intro., p. 357) places the capture of Tyre in 1240, following Mario Sanuto (p. 216), but the authority of Ibelin, Novare, and Georgio is better than Sanuto or the passage of the *Eracles* (p. 420) where the recognition of Alice is given under the date 1240. (After speaking of Alice's marriage to Ralph the *Eracles* says that after Ralph had married her he demanded the seisin of the realm, but does not state definitely that it was at once after marrying her.) Filanger was still bailli in Tyre on May 17, 1242 (Rohricht, *Regesta*, Doc. 1107), and Thomas of Acerra does not appear as bailli in the East until August 30, 1243 (*Regesta*, Doc. 1112), though Ryccardus de San Germano (p. 383) says he was appointed in 1242; his appointment would then have been the occasion of Filanger's departure before the attack on Tyre. (See Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, I, 324, note; Kohler, p. 138; Rohricht, *Geschichte*, pp. 854-59.)

² Not found in the *Gestes*, and placed by Kohler only in a note, this passage from Amadi (p. 197) seems to be the real ending of the history of Philip de Novare, wherefore I have included it as the final paragraph of Philip, although it may not have been written by Philip, who everywhere carefully avoids any use of the first person.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

PARAGRAPHS FROM PART I OF THE "GESTES DES
CHIPROIS" BELIEVED BY KOHLER TO HAVE BEEN
DERIVED FROM THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF
PHILIP DE NOVARE AND PUBLISHED BY
HIM UNDER THE TITLE "FRAG-
MENT OF AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY"

I (82). It was in the year of the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ 1223 that there was in the kingdom of Jerusalem a noble damoiselle who was named Isabelle, daughter of King John de Brienne, who was legal heir and lady of the kingdom of Jerusalem through her mother Queen Marie, who was the [grand] daughter of King Amaury, king of Jerusalem.

II (83). This noble damoiselle of whom I wish to speak, who was the legal heir to the kingdom of Jerusalem, had a sister who was married to the king of Cyprus, who was named Hugh, and she was called Queen Alice.

III (84). At this time there was on this side of the sea a noble man who was named John d'Ibelin, and he was lord of Beirut, and he had in the kingdom of Cyprus very great revenues from his casales and other possessions. This lord of Beirut was valiant and most hardy and energetic and generous and courteous and of fine manner to all people, and because of this was he much loved and renowned throughout, and above all was he wise and knowing and a man of great worth and loyal towards God.

IV (85). The lord of Beirut had a brother who was named Philip d'Ibelin who had also many revenues and fiefs, and who was likewise valiant and energetic. These two lords were uncles of the aforesaid damoiselle, the queen of Jerusalem, and of her sister Queen Alice of Cyprus.

V (86). It happened in this year [1220] that Frederick, whom they called the Infant of Apulia, had been made emperor by Pope Honorius, and was reigning as emperor at this time with great power and great renown. And it happened that at this time [1222] King John de Brienne came to the court of Rome, to the pope, who was named Honorius; and

with him he agreed that the said pope should arrange the marriage of the said damoiselle Isabelle, queen of Jerusalem, who was his daughter, to the said emperor Frederick, as I have told you.

VI (87). Before this the said emperor had sent messengers to King John and to the barons of the kingdom of Jerusalem to arrange for marrying the said damoiselle of whom he had heard tell; but the messengers of the emperor went to Syria, and at the same time King John went to the court of Rome, so that neither had news of the other; and King John secured the dispensation of the pope for the said marriage, as you have heard.

VII (88). The marriage was agreed upon and completed on both parts so the emperor had galleys prepared and armed to go to Syria to bring back the said damoiselle, queen of Jerusalem; and the emperor deputed a wise and worthy man, the bishop of Patti, to whom the emperor gave his ring, with which ring the bishop should marry the said damoiselle for the emperor. And thus was the matter approved by the Holy Church, and the emperor deputed some of his knights and squires to go on the said galleys, to accompany the said lady on her return, and the emperor sent goodly presents of fine jewels to the said lady and to her uncles and others of her relatives; and the galleys departed and came to the city of Acre.

VIII. And it happened that in those days the noble baron, the lord of Beirut, was at Acre, where he received the bishop of Patti and the other knights of the emperor most honorably, for he was a most courteous lord and was well accustomed to such service and knew well how to perform it; and he lodged them and had them served well and plentifully; and he assembled all the barons who were in Acre, and they received the letters of the pope and of the emperor and of King John, and they gave good heed and great reverence and joy to the news of the said marriage.

IX (89). The lord of Beirut and his brother, who came from Cyprus, and all the barons and knights of Syria and Cyprus, and the commoners and burgesses and others dressed themselves in gay robes and arranged other things which were suitable for the celebration of such a noble marriage and so high a coronation; and they sent the said damoiselle to Tyre, and there was she married and crowned by the archbishop of Tyre, Simon. And the feasting lasted fifteen days, in jousting and dancing and in social affairs, and in exchanging gay garments and giving robes, and many other forms of festival.

X (90). When the feasting was finished in the city of Tyre with much great honor such as is suitable to have for so important a marriage as that of such a noble person as the emperor and so noble a queen as the queen of Jerusalem, the lord of Beirut, her uncle, and his brother my lord Philip d'Ibelin, and the other relatives appointed certain people to send with the queen until she should have come to the emperor, and they arranged that these should go: Simon the archbishop of Tyre, and Sir Balian lord of Sidon, cousin german of the said queen, and other knights and squires and ladies and maidens; and they accompanied her as far as to the emperor Frederick; but the lord of Beirut, her uncle, and some of the other barons accompanied her only as far as Cyprus.

XI (91). And when the eighth day of July came in the year 1224 [1225], the said queen betook herself to the aforementioned twenty galleys which the emperor had sent. At her departure Queen Alice, her sister [aunt], the queen of Cyprus, and the other ladies accompanied her to the shore weeping, as though they thought that never would they see her more, as indeed they did not. And, at leaving, the said lady looked at the land and said: "To God I commend you, sweet Syria, for never shall I see you more." And she prophesied for so it was.

APPENDIX II

PARAGRAPHS FROM PART II OF THE "GESTES DES CHIPROIS" WHICH WERE OMITTED BY KOHLER IN PREPARING HIS EDITION OF PHILIP DE NOVARE

(99). In this same year [1218] the host of Syria came by sea to Damietta and took it from the Saracens. Thereafter [1219] came from Rome to Acre, Master Pelagius, the bishop of Albano, legate and prince of the Romans.

(100). In the year 1219 Prince Bohemond of Antioch seized Antioch from his nephew Rupin by the intrigues of William Farabel.

(101). And in this same year died Leo king of Armenia.

(102). And in this year [1220] was crowned as emperor in Rome Frederick, king of Sicily, in the Church of St. Peter by Pope Honorius III. This Frederick, in his youth, before he was emperor, showed himself most excellent, but after he became emperor he strove for the injury and abasement of the Holy Church and for the destruction of noble men. He honored serfs and baseborn men. He exalted and defended thieves and murderers and others, which things he alone did more than those others against whom he defended them could do. He was cruel beyond measure so that he had no pity in him. He was treacherous and evil, and no confidence could be placed in him for any oath or promise which he made, and whether it be that he was timid, nevertheless in enforcing the reverence for the Catholic faith he was most active. He, without sparing the dignity of the men of the Church, or sex, or age, or youth, tortured extensively in manner which never yet was heard of; widows, children, the aged and infirm, archbishops and bishops, men of religion, were all despoiled by him of their lives and their goods. In the matter of lechery he went contrary to nature so that in his lusts he surpassed Nero: beyond number were his adulteries, his fornications, and with it all he was a sodomist. He imprisoned his son Henry, king of Germany, so that he died in prison, as you shall find below. In the end the aforementioned Pope Honorius excommunicated him and fought against him greatly, as you shall hear told hereafter.

(103). In the year 1221 the Saracens took Damietta from the Christians and in this year the bailli of Armenia took the aforementioned Rupin

to Tarsus and put him in prison, where he died. In this year died Constance, the empress of Germany.

(104). In the year 1222 the aforesaid legate Pelagius returned to Rome, and with him went King John of Jerusalem, and the patriarch Ralph, and Brother Guerin de Montaigu, master of the Hospital; and the said King John spoke to the pope of the marriage of his daughter to the emperor, by the dispensation of Pope Honorius III.

(105). And in this year Philip, son of Bohemond prince of Antioch, married the daughter of King Leo of Armenia and received all the kingdom; the bailli whereof took him and put him in prison where he died.

(106). And in this year was a great earthquake in Cyprus which overthrew Paphos.

(107). And in the year 1223 the patriarch Ralph of Jerusalem returned from Rome to Acre.

(108). And in this year died Philip king of France, and Louis, his son, was crowned king of France, and in this year he took La Rochelle.

(109). In the year 1223 [1225] came to Acre the bishop of Patti, and he carried the ring to Isabelle, daughter of King John of Jerusalem, on behalf of the emperor Frederick; and in this year [1225] died the patriarch Ralph of Jerusalem. After him Gerold was elected patriarch of Jerusalem.

(116). In the year 1225 Isabelle, the daughter of King John of Jerusalem, was crowned at Tyre, and afterwards she passed across the sea to be married to the emperor Frederick; and there went with her Archbishop Simon of Tyre and Balian lord of Sidon.

(118). In the year 1226 [1227?] came from across the sea Count Thomas, on the part of the emperor Frederick, and he was bailli of Acre.

(119). And in this year was begun the building of the castle of Montfort by the brothers of the Teutonic Order, which castle is in Syria in the kingdom of Jerusalem. And in this year [1226] died King Louis of France. After him was crowned Louis, his son, who piously and peacefully held the kingdom all his life.

(120). In the year 1227 died the above mentioned Pope Honorius III, who held the See of Rome ten years, six months and twenty three days.

(121). After him was Pope Gregory IX, born in Champagne in the city of Anaine, and he was elected at Septisolum on the eighth day of March after the feast of St. Gregory. He canonized St. Francis and St. Anthony, the Brothers Minor, and St. Isabelle of Germany, who was wife of the landgrave. He abridged divers compilations of decretals and added his ordinances whereby many things which were doubtful were made clear. He excommunicated the emperor Frederick on two occasions and the emperor fought long against him. He held the See of Rome fourteen years and six months and three days. In this same year came from Rome to Acre the patriarch Gerold of Jerusalem who was legate general, and the duke of Lemburg, and the bishop of Winchester, and the bishop of Exeter; and Sir Gauvain who had served the emperor a while, as has been said before, came back then across the sea to Cyprus.

(124). In this year [1227] died Brother Guerin de Montaigu, master of the Hospital of St. John.

(125). And in this year were built the castles of Caesarea and Sidon and at that time died Coreidin [El Malik el Moadden Isa], sultan of Damascus.

(157). In the year 1229 the patriarch Gerold of Jerusalem built two towers at Jaffa facing Ascalon, and the church of the Holy Sepulchre was reconstructed. The patriarch of Antioch came to Acre as the legate of the court of Rome; and afterwards the legation was removed from the patriarch [of Jerusalem] by the emperor Frederick, who had accused him to the pope, wherefore he went to Rome and received back the legatine office in his patriarchate in perpetuity.

(191). When the battle had lasted a long time those of Apulia could endure no more, for they received too great damage, so they left the field and went discomfited across the pass and towards Cerines; the Cypriots pursued them and chased them and went with them pell-mell together and thus they came as far as the gates of Cerines, where they collected themselves with great grief. When the Cypriots had won the battle and taken the field and chased them as you have heard, they returned to a place which was in lowlands at the foot of the mountain, and there they camped.

(192). Richard Filanger, the marshal of the Longobard host, saw that he was surrounded and that he did not have enough men or sufficient food; he held council and sent to Paphos for the ships which were there.

When they had come to him he selected the men whom he wished to remain at Cerines and he and the others mounted the galleys and went to Armenia and they came to Tarsus; and there King Heyton and his father Constantine received them and greatly honored them. They remained a long time in that country, and a plague attacked them so that many of them died and many more were taken sick. When they saw that they could not survive in that land they departed and came to Tyre.

(193). As soon as these, as you have heard, had parted from Cerines to go to Armenia, King Henry of Cyprus and his men camped themselves under the walls of Cerines and they lodged so close that no one was able to go out or come in, and as a result of the battle which had just occurred King Henry remained undisturbed and in peace in his seigniory, he and the men who were with him. The siege was before Cerines until after Easter, and it was finally ended by the king delivering all the prisoners whom they had in Tyre, who had been taken at Casal Imbert, and all the ladies who had been taken at Nicosia in the churches and religious houses when they came into the country. Thus was surrendered the castle of Cerines to the king and the lord of Beirut in the year 1233.

(194). In this time that the siege was before Cerines, Queen Alice, wife of King Henry and daughter of the marquis of Montferrat, who was called Longobard because the emperor had given her — she had put herself in the castle of Cerines with the Apulians and at the command of the emperor — took most sick of a malady whereof she died. When she was dead those who were within Cerines dressed her as a queen should be dressed and then they demanded a safe conduct to send a man to speak with the king. He who had the safe conduct came to the king and said that his wife, the queen, had passed from this life and that those who were within sent word to him that if he pleased he should have her taken and buried as was proper for a queen, and that he should do for her as for his wife. The king agreed and truces were given that there would be no shooting or throwing lances without or within while the queen was being carried to the camp of the king. Then those of Cerines placed her outside of the castle and those of the king's camp received her; and she was carried to Nicosia in a great procession by the hands of knights all on foot, and was honorably interred in the cathedral church of Santa Sophia, and the archbishop Eustorgue buried her.

(203). In the year 1232 Queen Alice of Cyprus went to France to recover the county of Champagne.

(204). The patriarch Gerold of Jerusalem was accused at Rome by the emperor Frederick and the legatine power was taken from him; wherefore he went to Rome and received back the legation in his patriarchate in perpetuity.

(210). Then in the year 1235 came Queen Alice of Cyprus; after she had recovered the county of Champagne she came back from overseas to Acre safe and sound.

(211). In the year 1236 the lord of Beirut and his nephew John, lord of Caesarea, and the Hospital and the Temple went to besiege Montferrand; great honor and great service they afforded the Hospital; afterwards they returned to Cyprus with much joy and they were in great peace and good estate.

(213). In this season in the year 1239 it happened that there began in the kingdom of France a great crusade to go to the Holy Land. Many of them went by Marseilles and the others by Brindisi. In this movement were Thibaut king of Navarre, who was count of Champagne, Hugh the duke of Burgundy, Peter de Dreux, who was called Peter Mauclerc, count of Brittany, John de Dreux count of Macon, the count of Forez, the count of Nevers, Henry count of Bar le Duc, Amaury count of Montfort, and many other notables, of whom the count of Bar and the count of Montfort and their companies went from Marseilles. This crusade was called the crusade of the barons because there were on it so many great barons as you have heard named. When these barons had come and had arrived at Acre the day of St. Gilles, which is the first day of the month of September, there were about a thousand knights and they were quartered throughout the city and outside on the *Sabelon*. There they held council and agreed to go fortify Ascalon, and they rode till they came to Jaffa having the people of the country with them. When they had come there, a spy informed them that there were a thousand Turks quartered at Gaza and their captain was an emir who was named Roukn ed Din. When the Christians heard this news they agreed that they would have need of four hundred knights for this. So went out the count of Bar le Duc and Count Amaury of Montfort and Balian, lord of Sidon, and Eudes de Montbéliard, and John d'Ibelin, lord of Arsur. They left Jaffa in the early evening and rode so that they were at dawn nearly at Gaza. There they armed and rode in ordered squadrons to that place where the Turks were. When the Turks saw them coming towards them they mounted and retreated to a little mound,

and there Roukn ed Din held council with his men what he should do; they advised that he should go away from there and should depart because he had not enough men to fight against them. Roukn ed Din replied that he was ready to leave in his own good time but he would send out his heavily armed men and find out the conditions of the enemy. Then he did as he had said, and sent two hundred Turks to skirmish with them; and it happened that as soon as the skirmishers approached the Christians they began to run and the Christians commenced to mill around and to clash against each other. When the scouts saw this they began to harry them the more and pressed them closer. Roukn ed Din saw the bad confusion of the Christians, whereupon he came down from the mound where he was and advanced at a great speed towards the fighting. As soon as he came, he and his men spurred on and so boldly they smote in the midst of the Christians, because of the poor appearance which they had seen, that they did them much damage; wherefore the Christians without any order among themselves submitted to defeat, and those who could flee escaped. There was taken Amaury, count of Montfort, and there was killed Henry, count of Bar le Duc, and there was a great number of knights who were taken or killed; the Templars and the Hospitallers and the other infantry all were lost, and most of the equipment was lost. Those who escaped from the battle came to Ascalon, where they found the king of Navarre and the count of Brittany and all their host. As soon as they came there so great fright took possession of them all that it seemed to them that the Saracens were about to come and take them all, wherefore it resulted that as soon as it was night each set out for Jaffa without any order and without waiting for the other. In retreating thus as though defeated, they left a great amount of food and equipment. When they came to Jaffa they remained there but a little time; indeed, they departed for Acre and did not stop until they had come there. They remained there a long time without doing anything profitable. From this battle escaped, among the others of the men of the country, Balian, lord of Sidon, and Philip de Montfort, and John d'Ibelin, lord of Arsur, and Eudes de Montbéliard, and many others of the pilgrims.

(214). At this time there was a cleric of Tripoli who was named William, and his surname was de Champagne but he was born in Tripoli and was very familiar with the lord of Hama and served him often. He came to the host of the king of Navarre and said to the barons that the sultan of Hama sent them word that if they wished to come to

his country, whereby he might have the strength and help of the Christians, he would give into their hands his fortresses and would become a Christian; and of this he sent them word praying and saying that it depended only upon them that they should achieve this end. Then the host departed from Acre and rode along the coast until they came to Tripoli. There they stopped and camped before the city under Mont Pelerin, and from there they sent messengers to the sultan of Hama in the company of the afore-mentioned cleric William to know if he wished to carry out and complete those things of which he had sent them word. The sultan made a pretense of demanding covenants and led them on a while with words but in the end failed them in everything, as one who did nothing but mock them; this pretense that he made was only through his fear of the lady of Aleppo, the mother of the sultan, who was at war with him. This lady held the seigniorship of Aleppo because her son, the sultan of Aleppo, was a child and under age. When the Christians were aware of the falseness and treachery of the sultan of Hama, after they had remained a while before Tripoli—where Bohemond, the prince of Antioch, honored them much and made a celebration—they left and returned to Acre; but John, count of Macon, died at Tripoli and was buried there in a religious house.

(215). When our pilgrims had returned to Acre they did not wait long before they went to lodge in the palmer house of Caïphas to give grazing to their horses, and when the grazing had failed there they went to lodge at the fountain of Saphoria. While they were there a messenger came to them from the sultan of Damascus to negotiate a truce. This sultan was named Salah and had been and was still the lord of Baalbeck, and he was son of Seif ed Din Haidel. Things progressed on both parts so that a truce was arranged between him and the Christians; by that treaty he gave over the castle of Belfort and the castle of Safita to the Temple, and all the land of Jerusalem which the Franks held from the coast as far as the Jordan river he surrendered. The Christians made a covenant with him that they would make no treaty nor peace with the sultan of Babylon without him and his consent and that they would go to camp at Ascalon or Jaffa with all their forces, to prevent the sultan of Babylon from passing through the country and going into Syria; the aforementioned sultan should encamp beside them where the river of Jaffa flowed. All the treaties which you have heard were sworn by all the barons of the host and by the sultan and his emirs and by agreement he

surrendered to them the aforesaid castle of Belfort and the land of Sidon and Tiberias.

(216). When the treaty had been sworn as you have heard, the Christians went to camp at Jaffa and the sultan of Damascus with them, and the lord of Homs also; they camped at the head of the stream with all their host. This treaty of which you have heard had been arranged and secured by the Temple and without the agreement of the Hospital of St. John, wherefore the Hospital so arranged that the sultan of Babylon made a treaty with part of the Christians, and to it swore the king of Navarre and the count of Brittany and many other pilgrims, never considering the oath which they had sworn with the sultan of Damascus in that the treaty was made in the manner of which you have heard. The king of Navarre and the count of Brittany and the other pilgrims who swore this treaty with the sultan of Babylon left Jaffa and went to Acre and secured ships to cross the sea to their own countries. The master of the Hospital, Brother Peter de Villebride, who had sworn this treaty and had sworn nothing to the sultan of Damascus, left Jaffa with all his chapter and went to Acre and there remained. The men of the country, the Templars, the count of Nevers, and a part of the pilgrims remained at Jaffa and did not wish to break nor withdraw from the covenants which they had made with the sultan of Damascus. Thus was created among the Christians discord and dissension in that some adhered to one treaty and others to another.

(217). In this year died Sir Balian lord of Sidon.

(218). At the time that the pilgrims were at Acre, Queen Alice of Cyprus married a nobleman of France who was named Sir Ralph de Soissons and he was the brother of the count of Soissons.

(219). Again in the year 1240 arrived in Acre Count Richard of Cornwall, brother of King Henry of England. He led a fine company of knights and they carried with them great possessions, and when he had come to Acre he lodged in the house of the Hospital of St. John, and after he had been there a while and had equipped and attired his men, he went to Jaffa and lodged with the other Christians who were there. While he was there the Templars pressed him that he should hold to the treaty and the covenants with the sultan of Damascus and that he should swear thereto. The Hospitallers also demanded of him and urged him that he hold to that with the sultan of Babylon; at Acre even they had

spoken of it so much to him that he did not wish to side with either, so he said that if the Christians who were at Jaffa wished to camp at Ascalon he was ready to fortify the castle. The barons of the host and the Templars and the Hospital of the Teutons took counsel and said that what he proposed was pursuant to the treaty which they had with the sultan of Damascus and was to the profit of Christianity. So they agreed and set out from Jaffa. When they had secured workers and that which was needed for the work, they went to Ascalon. Upon their arrival there they established their equipment and set to work, and the castle of Ascalon was fortified in the manner that King Richard of England, the uncle of this Count Richard who was now fortifying it, had fortified it; so he equipped it as best he could and then sent to Jerusalem to a knight who was named Walter Pennenpie, who was bailli thereof for the emperor Frederick and held the city of Jerusalem according to the treaty and terms of the sultan of Babylon. As soon as this Walter Pennenpie had come to Ascalon, Count Richard surrendered and made over to him the castle which he should guard for the emperor. After Count Richard of Cornwall had done this he agreed to the treaty with the sultan of Babylon and caused to be released Count Amaury of Montfort and the other knights whom Roukn ed Din had taken at the defeat which the Christians had suffered at Gaza. Then Count Richard, having done all this, returned to Acre and secured his ship and returned to his own country in this same year; wherever the host of the Christians went the sultan of Damascus and his host were always camped near them. When they had been a long time at Jaffa the pilgrims, who had remained after the others, wished to return to their own countries so that they went to Acre and there secured their ships and went away, and all the other Christians returned to Acre at that time.

(220). In the year 1241 John d'Ibelin, son of the lord of Beirut, began to fortify the castle of Arsur.

(230). Richard Filanger put himself in a ship with his possessions and his people and the remainder of the men of the emperor who had been in the castle, and he passed to Apulia, and as soon as he had arrived the emperor had him and Henry and John of Sorrento, his nephew, taken, and he put them in prison, where they remained a long time until they were delivered by the prayer of Count Raymond of Toulouse as you will hear hereafter.

(231). Lothaire, brother of the above mentioned Richard Filanger,

went to the prince of Antioch, who received him most gladly and gave him a noble marriage and a rich one in Antioch, where he lived well until his death.

(232). Ralph de Soissons demanded of Sir Balian, lord of Beirut, and of Sir Philip de Montfort, lord of Toron, the city of Tyre for himself and for Queen Alice his wife, as he wished to have it in the same way that he had the other things belonging to the kingdom of Jerusalem. They replied to him that they would not surrender it to him nor bail it to him, but that they would guard it until they should know to whom they should surrender it; Sir Ralph saw then that he had no power nor command and that he was but as a shade. As a result of the disgust and the chagrin which he had over this, he abandoned all, left the queen his wife, and went to his own country. Some said that this request of Sir Ralph de Soissons and of Queen Alice was made before the castle of Tyre was taken, but whether it was before or after they did not ever have their will.

HOW COUNT RAYMOND OF TOULOUSE WENT TO ROME TO SEEK ABSOLUTION FROM POPE GREGORY

(233). In this season Count Raymond of Toulouse, who had been accused and excommunicated for some cause of heresy, went to Rome to Pope Gregory to purge himself and seek absolution. The pope received him courteously enough, and after many words the pope decreed that he should be absolved, and his absolution was committed to the archbishop of St. Nicholas of Bari, who was then in Rome. The archbishop was a great cleric and a wise man and one of the noble men of the kingdom, for he was the brother german of Sir Richard Filanger of whom you have heard speak already. He became most familiar with the count of Toulouse and the count considered himself to be in his debt.

(234). It happened that the count of Toulouse took leave of the afore-said pope to go to see the emperor, for he had, according to his words, a great desire to work towards making some arrangement between the pope and the emperor; and when it came time that he should leave Rome the archbishop of Bari prayed him and caused many cardinals to pray him that he work for the deliverance of his brothers and nephew who were in the prison of the emperor. The count agreed willingly to do all that he could. The count then went to Apulia and was most honorably received and treated by the emperor. He remained a while and they discoursed often together, the emperor and he, as was pleasing to them;

concerning the reconciliation of the emperor to the Church he was able to do nothing so he abandoned that. Then he requested a gift from the emperor and he acceded thereto. So he asked for Richard Filanger and his brother and nephew whom he held in prison. This request which the count made greatly displeased the emperor, and much he wished that the count would refrain from this request, and greatly he charged Sir Richard Filanger and his people with many grave offenses which he had committed towards his empire. And all this he did that the count might refrain from making this request, but the count would not abandon it for anything, and he held so closely to it that the emperor had them taken out of prison and released to the count on the terms that they should entirely leave his kingdom. The count thanked him and took his leave of the emperor and returned to his own country, taking with him Sir Richard Filanger and his brother and his nephew. There he gave them good knightly holdings, and they remained there until that time when the emperor Frederick was deposed by Pope Innocent IV and died excommunicate as you will hear hereafter.

(235). This book was finished the Wednesday the ninth day of April in the year MCCCXLIII of Christ.

(236). And it was written by John Le Miège, prisoner of my lord Amaury de Mimars, holding the place of the châtelain at Cerines.

APPENDIX III

EXCERPTS CONCERNING THE CRUSADE OF FREDERICK
II FROM THE "BREVE CHRONICON DE REBUS SICU-
LIS A ROBERTI GUISCARDI TEMPORIBUS INDE
AD ANNUM 1250" (HUIILLARD-BRÉHOLLES,
"HISTORIA DIPLOMATICA FRIDERICI
SECUNDI," I, 897-904)

In the year of the Incarnation of the Lord MCCXXVII in the month of September in the first Indiction, the lord emperor made a great preparation and wished to pass over the sea with the Christian army which at that time he was assembling from all the parts of the world at Brindisi. And being attacked by sickness he was not able to pass over. Nevertheless he did not delay sending an army with the patriarch of Jerusalem, who was hastening as legate of the Roman Church to Syria. And he himself remained sick at Otranto, a city of Apulia, and the following month of November in this same Indiction Pope Gregory, who succeeded Pope Honorius, having assembled all the prelates of Italy, on the octave of St. Martin in the said month at Rome in the church of St. Peter's, excommunicated the emperor Frederick because he had not gone. The Christian army which crossed to Syria in that same passage built the castles of Sidon and Caesarea.

In the year of the Lord MCCXXVIII, in the month of April in the first Indiction, the empress Elizabeth [Isabelle], the wife of the emperor Frederick and daughter of King John, gave birth to a son, whom she had conceived by her husband the emperor Frederick, at Andria, a city of Apulia, on the twenty-sixth [25th] of the month of April. When the lord emperor, his father, heard of his birth, at Troya an Apulian city where he then was, he gave him the name of Conrad. His mother, however, ten days after she bore him, in that same city [Andria] passed to God. At her funeral attended all the prelates of the kingdom of Sicily, since he himself [the emperor] wished to pass over to Syria that he might fulfill his vow. Indeed in the following month of June in this same year and Indiction the lord emperor, having gathered certain vassals of his Sicilian realm, set out from the port of Brindisi with forty galleys, on the vigil of St. Peter in the above-said month of June [June 28]. And the following day on the feast of the same saint he reached Otranto, a city of Apulia. Thence departing from Otranto that

evening, we came on the following day to the island of Romania which is called Othronos [Fanu]. Leaving there the next day [July 1] about the sixth hour we came to the island and castle which is called Corfu. There delaying until evening we sailed thence. The following day after sundown we came to Port Guiscard. There we tarried that night, and the next day about the sixth hour we came to the island of Cephalonia in which was the count, Lord Maione, who was an Apulian. There we found all that was necessary, prepared by the ministration of that same count. Then about sundown leaving that place, and the sea having risen as usual, the following day [July 4] about the ninth hour we came to Modon. There waiting until morning, we departed thence about sunrise and by evening came to Portocaglie. After tarrying there all night, we departed in the morning and came that same evening to the island of Cerigo. There we delayed until at dawn of the next day we left and sailed towards Crete, and about the hour of vespers or towards evening we reached that same island at a place which is called Suda. There we tarried all the night and the following day, that is the eighth of July of the same Indiction. Thence on the tenth of this same month we began to sail around the shores of this same island. And the eleventh about the third hour we came to a certain city of this island which is called Candia, below which we descended and we were there all that day and night. The following day, that is to say the twelfth of the month of July, we left Crete and put out to sea. On the thirteenth of this month of July we came to the island of Rhodes, and, being somewhat fatigued, we rested there through all the night of the fourteenth day. And sailing thence on that same day, that is the fourteenth of the month of July, we came to the city which is called Rhodes about the ninth hour. And without descending we nevertheless remained there in the port through all that day and night. And in the morning departing, we sailed along the coast of the province of Lycia. In the evening we came to the city of Patara in which was born the confessor of the Lord, Nicholas. And we remained there all that night. In the morning [July 16] we departed thence and about the third hour we sighted Myra, the city in which St. Nicholas was distinguished through divine miracles, and where he was bishop. And after the ninth hour of that same day we came to Phinicha where we found most cold water in abundance coming from large streams. And there we delayed that day and the next [July 16-17] and rested somewhat our bodies. And then on the eighteenth day of the same month of July after sunrise we began to sail towards the island of Cyprus. And crossing the sea the

twentieth of that same month we came to the island. And the following day we reached Limassol a city of that island. And after the second or third day Henry, the king of the island, came with all his knights to the emperor at Limassol. For on the part of the Empire whose vassal he ought to be he was held to him by homage. Indeed since this same king was a child, certain men of his land had assumed all of his goods. For which reason the emperor demanded of them that they should make an accounting of the land of the king. These, fearing that they would not be able to give a full accounting, on the fifth or sixth day, by night, leaving there their tents and their goods, withdrew secretly unbeknownst to us. And they went to Nicosia, a city of the island, and began to fortify three castles which are in the same island, saying: "Our appearance will not seem other than the appearance of the emperor." The emperor however when he saw this, tarried at Limassol until the seventeenth day of the following month of August in the first Indiction. Then he rode towards the above-mentioned Nicosia. The noble prince of Antioch joined us, and after delaying there several days, those who had rebelled came all to the feet of the emperor. Having ordered thus the kingdom and accepted the oaths of fealty from all, on the second day of the month of September in the second Indiction, we took the road to Syria. And on that day we came to the city of Famagusta. And the following day we embarked on the sea and began to sail towards Syria. And the fifth day of the same month we reached Botron. And passing Beirut and Sidon and Sarepta we came before dawn to the port of Tyre. And there we did not delay but that day reached Acre. There we found the Christian army which had built the castles of Sidon and Caesarea. When we had descended there, the emperor began to discuss where he should go with his army. Meanwhile the sultan of Babylon, who had come from Egypt and was staying at Sichem which is now called Nablus, sent a certain great emir to the emperor with fine gifts, and through this same envoy he promised to restore to him the holy land of Jerusalem with all the appurtenances of that kingdom, all of which his nephew held captive. The emperor thereupon sent back the same envoy and with him sent his envoys, through whom he sent to the sultan many gifts. Meanwhile the emperor prepared and rode with his army to the rebuilding of Jaffa. The sixteenth of November of this same second Indiction the emperor with his army reached Jaffa and began vigorously to rebuild its castle. And through the discourses of the envoys who strove to make peace between them, in the month of March [February, 1229] this agreement was brought into effect, that is to say that

the sultan himself peacefully and quietly restored to him the city of Jerusalem and other parts of the same kingdom. On the eighteenth day of this same month of March, on that Sunday when is chanted the "Re-joice Jerusalem in the Lord, be joyful all you who love Him!" this was done; the emperor himself with all the Christian army entered the city rejoicing. And he who writes this was there in person, and he does not depart from the path of the truth, with his own eyes he saw and from his certain knowledge he gives testimony. Moreover, how often it may be read in histories that from the time of Heraclius and Conrad, the emperors, no emperor entered into that city save only this same Frederick, how the Christians peacefully and quietly held it until what time the above-mentioned Khwarezmians occupied it. . . . Then the Emperor Frederick in the month of April of the above-mentioned Indiction returned to the city of Acre, where he heard that the papal army had invaded the kingdom of Sicily and had occupied the entire land as far as Capua. . . . Then the above-mentioned emperor, on the first of May of the above-said Indiction, with seven armed galleys which Count Henry of Malta had brought with him at that time from the kingdom of Sicily, set out on the sea and came to the port of Brindisi on the tenth of June. . . .

[1231]. He sent Lord Richard Filanger his marshal with an army of knights of the Kingdom to the island of Cyprus. Not being able to descend there since Lord John of Beirut with his great army opposed him, they went to Syria to Beirut and descended in the land of this same lord John, and having taken the city they were not able to take the castle. When had come the month of May of this year [1232], this same Lord John of Beirut sailed from Cyprus to the city of Acre with his army, and to him were joined all the citizens of Acre. And having collected an army they raised the siege of Beirut. This same Lord Richard, having mounted into the galleys and ships which he had with him, went over to the island of Cyprus, which had been left without defenders, with his army, and seized it all for his own will and rule. Afterwards the above-mentioned Lord John of Beirut, having collected an army across the sea, came to Cyprus with Genoese ships, and near the city of Nicosia they fought with their armies. And Lord Richard was defeated with his army and as many as four hundred knights were taken or killed. And Lord Richard escaped through flight with certain of his knights and they made a retreat to those galleys which they had in the near-by sea. And in them they returned to Tyre, which Lord Richard held fortified on the behalf of the emperor.

APPENDIX IV

CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS OF THE RECOGNITION OF QUEEN ALICE AND THE CAPTURE OF TYRE

A. ACCOUNT OF MARSIGLIO GEORGIO, THE VENETIAN BAILLI (TAFEL
UND THOMAS, "URKUNDEN ZUR ÄLTEREN HANDELS-UND
STAATSGESCHICHTE DER REPUBLIK VENEDIG," II, 354-57)
[OCTOBER, 1243]

Marsiglio Georgio, Venetian bailli in Syria, narrates many deeds in that place in their order, to this end that anyone who shall be established in the rule for the commune of Venice may be able to guard for himself and may be able to manage those affairs which are concerned with the honor and good welfare of the Lord Doge and the commune of Venice. Wherefore I, Marsiglio Georgio, bailli of the Venetians in Syria, caused to be set down in writing what appears below.

For when first I entered Syria, I found that the most wicked Longobards, who held the control of Tyre for the lord emperor Frederick, were appropriating as though they belonged to them all the revenues which the commune of Venice ought to collect both in the city of Tyre and outside it, despoiling us wholly thereof. I, however, wishing to inquire wherefore the bailli who was there for the said emperor was doing this, and that he might make restoration to us, sent envoys, whom he refused to hear or even to see, which is worse. Indeed, through abject people he let it be known to me that he distrusted me especially and all other Venetians in person and in things, saying this, that if thereafter he should offend me or the other Venetians, he might not be considered as a traitor. Whence, seeing that the said bailli was directing his efforts to getting possession of the city of Acre for the purpose of dispossessing us, together with all the others who adhered to the Roman Church, I began wisely to persuade Lord Philip de Montfort, who was lord of Toron, and others whom I believed capable of carrying through so important an undertaking, to the end that we were able to retain Acre and to recapture Tyre. These indeed, pondering over these things which I had said to them, and turning over in their minds what might come to them, consented to the things which I had proposed.

The said barons, seeing the danger which might come to them in Acre from the bailli of the emperor, and confident in that they had made

treaties with the Genoese, arranged and carried out this project: that the queen of Cyprus, named Alice, should request the kingdom of Jerusalem from the archbishop of Tyre, who was the vicar of the patriarch, and from all the other prelates of the said kingdom. The houses which are under the rule [i.e., monastic houses], the commune of the city of Acre, the communes of the Venetians and Genoese, and all the others by silence agreed, inasmuch as there was present in the kingdom, according to the custom, one who was more legitimate than any other person who was at that time present in the kingdom. The prelates, barons, and others above mentioned, after taking careful counsel together, seeing that what the queen asked was just, consented to her petition as a just one. The said queen, according to the custom, swore, in the hands of the archbishop of Tyre and of the barons, that she would govern the kingdom in this manner: that she would preserve the customs of the kingdom to the barons, knights, and all the people, and also maintain the status of the church and of religion, and observe and maintain the privileges of individuals, and especially conserve and maintain intact the treaty with and privileges of the Doge and the commune of Venice. The queen having taken the oath, her husband, named Ralph de Soissons, swore the same; and after the oath of the queen and her husband, all the barons, knights, and people of the kingdom did homage to the queen and her husband according to the custom of the kingdom. This was the fifth day from the beginning of the month of June in the above mentioned year.

When all the above had been done, the said queen, having taken over the rule of the kingdom, asked me to arm one galley at her expense, since she wished this for the purpose of going to take Tyre, on the ground that it was her own land so far as it concerned that part which she ought to have, and she arranged with us to recapture our part. Whereupon, having taken counsel, I replied to her that with willing spirit would we grant to her the galley, but not, as she asked, at her expense but entirely at our own; this because the Lord Doge and the commune of Venice is not accustomed to perform any services for its friends at their expense but always at its own expense. This however I demanded from her and from the barons, that if the Lord willed that we should get possession of the land, together with the barons, she should restore to us, according to the oath, whatever had been confiscated and diminished from that which we had in Tyre both within and without and anywhere else in the whole kingdom, and that she should preserve intact our privileges. The Lady Queen and Lord Ralph, her husband, and the lord of Beirut and Lord Philip de Montfort replied

that this would be of the greatest service; everyone promised according to their will and by the oath — because they were held in the alliance between us and them, made on the arrival of the emperor — and by the faith to which knights hold, that if the Lord granted them the land, they would make restitution and do these things, as I had demanded. Wherefore I, believing in their promises and in their faith, granted what they asked of me. And I went with them by land, riding with thirty men well armed. And this was the ninth of the said month.

And after we had reached Tyre, we took the city at the end of three days, and this by the aid of our Venetians who were burgesses there. And at the end of the twenty-eighth day we recaptured the citadel with great labor; for there we constructed siege machinery. And sooner we took it than we should have taken it had it not been that the bailli of the emperor, who was going to Apulia, had been wrecked in the passage by Mount Barche. He returned in the small barque of the ship in which he had sailed, and came back to Tyre. And so we took him, and having erected a gallows on a high tower opposite the castle, said we wished to hang him. Those who were in the castle, led on by fear that we would hang him, surrendered the castle on these terms; that they should have their freedom. After we had the city and the castle quietly, the said queen made her way to Tyre, and I came to her on the mainland, demanding from her and from the barons that they should restore to me those things which they had promised, and should put us in possession of those things which had been kept from us. To which the queen and barons replied that well they wished to do this gladly and they were held thereto, but they asked me to wait until they had returned to Acre, in order that they might explain to the men of the kingdom, so that no sinister motive would be ascribed to them and there would be the greater security for us, saying that they were certain that on this matter there would be no contrary action on the part of anyone, nor could there be. And knowing that no one would contradict them, provided they so wished, I agreed.

(Marsiglio proceeds to enumerate all the possessions and privileges of the Venetians in Tyre, Acre, and throughout the Kingdom of Jerusalem.)

B. JOHN d'IBELIN OF JAFFA, "DOCUMENTS RELATIFS À LA SUCCESSIBILITÉ AU TRÔNE ET À LA RÉGENCE," ASSISES DE JERUSALEM, II, 399-400

When King Conrad came of age he sent letters and messengers to put a man in his place; so the liegemen assembled and there was there

the archbishop Eustorgue of Nicosia, who at that time was vicar of the patriarch. And they said thus: that if it pleased King Conrad to come into his lordship they would receive him as their rightful lord. For the assize and the usage of the said kingdom was that by letters or by messengers could they not do for him as they should, for this thing would be contrary to their oath and loyalty; and, concerning him who was their lord and should be held to them by faith, they were certain that he would not ever wish to act in such manner that they would do falsely in anything which was contrary to the assize or the usage of the said kingdom which he himself was bound to hold and to have maintained. And because it seemed to them that he did not know well the said usage, they informed him of it, but they would guard the kingdom according to their usage until it should please him to come. And when King Conrad was of age the men assembled and came into the presence of the archbishop Eustorgue of Nicosia who was at that time vicar of Nicosia, as I have told you before, and they said how that King Conrad their lord was of age and since he was of age the emperor Frederick, his father, was no longer bailli of the country. For the assize and usage of the kingdom of Jerusalem and also that of Cyprus is this: that when the legal heir attains his majority the father and mother lose their bailliage and because of this had the emperor Frederick lost it; and they wished to place a man in possession of the lordship as it was the usage to do. And because Sir Balian, the lord of Sidon, was dead, they elected the constable, Sir Eudes de Montbéliard, to the control of the lordship, for neither my cousin, the lord of Caesarea, nor I desired it for certain reasons. And when my cousin, Queen Alice, knew that the emperor had lost the bailliage by the coming of age of his son, she caused to be assembled all the liegemen whom she could obtain, and she went into the presence of the afore-mentioned archbishop, and there were there the master of the Temple, Brother Armand de Périgord, and the consul of Genoa and the bailli of Venice; and she demanded the kingdom of Jerusalem as through her niece the empress Isabelle as the most legal heir apparent claiming it in the court; and she said that, since her nephew King Conrad was of age and had not come in person to enter into his realm, the closest heir ought to enter into it, and that she was the closest heir in that line through which the kingdom passed, and that she was ready to prove it as the court should decide or believe that she ought to prove it; wherefore she prayed and requested that the letters or messages which King Conrad had sent or should send should not be received, and that it would be contrary to the assize and the usage of the said kingdom which they

could not in any way oppose. The liegemen took counsel and all agreed to accept Queen Alice, save only the constable who did not wish that she should be received before word was sent to King Conrad that he should come or his aunt would be accepted. The lord of Beirut and I and the others deemed that it was not necessary to send to him; and thus entered Queen Alice into the seigniory, and homage was performed to her as to the most legal heir apparent and claimant in the court, saving King Conrad. Then were revoked all the grants which the emperor had made, and Sir Raymond de Gibelet even was put out of the seneschalship, for nothing is valid which is done outside of the assize and usage, and because of this were they revoked. And the said queen sent word to Cyprus to her son King Henry and to our relatives who came first. And then the lord of Beirut, and the lord of Toron, Sir Philip de Montfort, and the lord of Arsur, Sir John d'Ibelin, and I, and the knights of Acre went by land with Sir Ralph de Soissons, husband of the said queen, to take Tyre from Sir Ytier [Lothaire] Filanger who was there on behalf of the emperor; and we took it, and the liegemen gave it in guard to the lord of Beirut, and the castle of Acre to the lord of Toron and to Sir Nicholas Antiaume, because the liegemen should guard the fortresses of the realm when the heirs are under age or when they are out of the country and have not entered into their kingdom as they should have. Nor did we suffer that the said Ralph de Soissons should have them in his power for certain dangers which they might have.

C. THE "ERACLES," XXXIII, I, 420

At the time that the pilgrims were at Acre, Alice, the mother of the king of Cyprus, married a noble man of France who was named Ralph de Soissons and he was the brother of the count of Soissons. And after he had married her he came forward by the assent of part of the men of the country and demanded for his wife, the queen, the guardianship of the seigniory of the kingdom of Jerusalem; and he demanded it because she was the most legal heir of the heirs of King Amaury, her grandfather, who was present in the land or who had been [present] since the death of her niece the empress Isabelle. The men of the kingdom took council among themselves and replied to him that Queen Isabelle, who was the wife of the emperor, had had a son who was in Apulia and who was the legal heir of the kingdom. But because he was not present, nor had been, they would receive her as their lady and would bail to her the kingdom to guard, and they would be bound to her saving the rights and prerogatives of King Conrad, the son of Empress Isabelle

her niece. And thus it was done. When Ralph de Soissons had the lordship in the manner of which you have heard, he held it most feebly, for those by whom he had been placed therein — they were the relatives of his wife — had more power and command than he had, so that it seemed that he was but a shade. Whence it was that, because of the humiliation and the chagrin which he had, he abandoned all and left his wife and went to his own country.

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